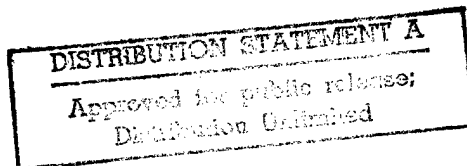


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USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL

U.S. ANTI-SOVIET POLICY, ECONOMIC RIVALRY WITH W. EUROPE SEEN LINKED

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Sep 83 p 4

[Article by G. Vorontsov, Doctor of Historical Sciences: "Hostages of Washington: Western Europe in U.S. Strategy"]

[Text] Washington has tried with increasing persistence of late to turn back the wheel of history and destroy the military equilibrium that has been established in the world between the USSR and the U.S.A., the Warsaw Pact and NATO.

Washington is also trying to solve some extremely important although not as well publicized problems in the Atlantic camp. Under the rallying flag of the Western world in the anti-Communist and anti-Soviet "crusade", it has no qualms about using the crudest of provocations, as shown in the incident where the South Korean airplane invaded USSR air space. It was apparently no accident that the new anti-Soviet campaign, blown up around this incident, was timed to the decisive moment of realization of Pentagon and NATO plans for the deployment of new American nuclear missiles in a number of Western European countries. In executing these plans, the White House hopes to solve, along with its long-range goals, the problem of its recently declining influence in Western Europe, and to adjust the balance of power in the rivalry between the imperialists to its own advantage.

The picture of Western life emphasizes over and over again the law of uneven political and economic development in capitalist countries. In the last two to three decades, a number of Western European countries have substantially strengthened their positions, as has Japan, intensifying its attack against the U.S. primarily in the domain of economics. The relative importance of the United States in capitalist country production decreased from 50 to 34 from 1950 to 1980, and their share of the world capitalist export market went from 18 to 12 percent. Western Europe proved to be ahead in the volume of industrial production, more than tripling U.S. exports. Gold currency reserves in the Federal Republic of Germany alone were roughly double American values.

U.S. power circles experienced particular difficulty during the period of detente, when their Western European partners substantially broadened the field of their economic maneuver by developing relationships with socialist governments.

The administration in Washington is also using the supercharged international tension to bring "order" to the Atlantic camp. The White House considers the use of NATO military and political levers as the most effective means in this plan. It is easier to use the trump card of U.S. strategic power, their nuclear "guarantees" for NATO governments, in just these conditions of international tension. The black/white world view that the Reagan administration is teaching its partners must not only force them to look at international problems through Washington's prism, but also to act in accordance with its wishes.

This was confirmed by results of a meeting between leaders from seven leading capitalist governments at Williamsburg. Here the U.S. was successful for the first time in its history of such meetings in adopting a special "political declaration on questions of safety", expressing support for its aggressive course, primarily on the question of the deployment of American missiles in Europe. The pushing through of this document was not accompanied in any way by any serious American concessions in the domain of economics, as the Western Europeans had hoped. Washington refused to adopt any realistic measures as their allies were trying to urge them to do, particularly on the question of currency ratios.

The colossal U.S. budget deficit continues to pose a serious threat to the normal functioning of the Western currency system. M. Feldstein, chairman of the president's economic council, stated openly that planned U.S. budget deficits are creating conditions for a high level of bank credit rates. This attracts foreign investors, creating a broad channel of European capital outflow across the ocean, money which could be used in their own countries.

Paradoxically, it is a fact that because Western European NATO countries are pumping their capital across the ocean, they are financing the arms race to a significant degree. They are buying American securities used by the U.S. Government to cover its government budget deficit. Moreover, the forced increase in military expenditures is a significant cause of this deficit. It is not without reason that this year's U.S. budget deficit of 210 billion dollars approaches the level of military spending, which is equal to 240 billion dollars.

The American dollar, whose rate is clearly inflated in regard to its currency, continues to impose a serious drain on the economy of the Western European governments. Moreover, this means a rise in price of a significant portion of Western European imports, particularly oil and other raw materials, paid for in dollars. This artificial price increase stands at 20-25 percent for Western Europe at the present time. For example, this means that France paid an additional 1 billion dollars for petroleum products this year.

The problem of the deployment of U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe is one of extreme importance in European and world politics. Deployment of Pershing II and cruise missiles would mean the creation of first strike potential in immediate proximity to vitally important centers in the USSR and other Warsaw Pact countries. Washington strategists are entertaining themselves with the illusion that if the missiles are launched at these targets

not from U.S. territory but from Western European countries, then the retaliatory attack would be launched against the latter. In any case, by acting in this manner Washington intends to turn its NATO allies into its nuclear hostages.

Washington has nurtured its plan for the deployment of new American missiles in Western Europe by considering many (strategic, economic, political and other) aspects.

Washington's calculation is based on definite logic. A marked deterioration in circumstances in Europe in case the Pentagon and NATO plans are realized would directly result in complication of the development of neighborly relations between European countries. It is clear that such a turn would increase military danger and would deprive the Western European governments of the serious advantages gained in the period of detente and of the opportunity to decide their own international-political problems. By attempting to plug the channels of dialogue between West and East and to block the detente process the United States wishes to leave its allies no alternative other than unconditional orientation toward Washington's policy and subordination to it.

The White House also attaches a great deal of importance to blocking the economic commercial, scientific-technical and other relations between Western European governments and countries of the socialist alliance. In this manner it hopes on one hand to destroy the economic substance of detente and on the other to prevent the liberation of Western countries from the influence, and often the dominance of American monopolies.

This is especially pronounced in key economic areas such as, for example, the energy supply. It is also known that the American-Western European quarrel became red-hot in connection with the "gas-pipeline" project intended to diversify Western European government energy supplies using Soviet Union resources. The Reagan administration launched all efforts, right up to using sanctions against the allies in order to try to stop realization of this project. The shadow of the energetic U.S. monopolies who did not wish to lose their positions was clearly evident behind the politicostrategic arguments of Washington's actions. It is enough to mention in this connection that 13 branches of the Exxon, Texaco and Mobil Oil American oil companies control approximately half of the Western European petroleum and petroleum products market.

The positions of U.S. transnational corporations in the production of computer technology looks even more impressive; 80 percent of the computers in Western Europe are produced in enterprises of their affiliates. Branches of the American automobile giants manufacture every fourth automobile here. In all, U.S. monopolies control 20 percent of industry in England, 16 in France and approximately 30 percent in Belgium and Holland. The financial-industrial empire of the United States receives large profits in Western Europe. From 1978 to 1980 their income merely from direct investments more than doubled here, comprising approximately 16 billion dollars.

Zealously exploiting Western Europe, the American imperialists also intend to consolidate this position in the future. Furthermore, by orienting their allies toward intensifying military and political opposition to the USSR and

switching their efforts and means toward the military sector, the United States at the same time is exerting considerable efforts inside their country to re-arm their economy at the most modern level.

Naturally, this does not suit the West Europeans, who want to dispose of their own fate, their own efforts and their own resources. "If America considers its own interests first in making a decision," observes noted FRG political figure E. Bar in a recently published book, 'What Will Happen to the German?', "then we must make decisions based on our interests first. An alliance must respect the interests of all its members...."

Understanding of the fact that attempting to stray from the trail that was blazed at one time in Helsinki leads to the blind alleys of confrontation fraught with peril for all mankind was expressed in the positive outcome of the Madrid meeting.

In the end, the properly understood national interests of European governments, regardless of their affiliation with diverse socioeconomic systems, converge objectively in a common goal: to defend peace, to avert nuclear catastrophe, and to develop an extensive mutually advantageous cooperation. "American scenarios of limited war in the European theater do not amuse us at all: we do happen to live here, you know," writes historian and author, known nuclear disarmament movement figure Professor E. Thompson. "And here, of course, we will die in the event of any exchange of nuclear strikes, whether they be 'limited' or not."

As far as the USSR is concerned, it is doing everything in its power to strengthen peace and to prevent a slip toward nuclear catastrophe, to turn international relations toward the path of detente and an equal-rights and mutually advantageous collaboration. "We are striving for a radical normalization of international relations and an intensification and development of all good principles in these relations, declared Comrade Yu. V. Andropov. It is indeed these worthy goals that all foreign policy initiatives advanced by the Soviet Union are serving.

12262

CSO: 1807/4

INTERNATIONAL

U.S. PROMOTES OIL IMPORTS TO HELP FINANCE ARMS BUILDUP

Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 37, 13 Sep 83 p 4-5

[Article by B. Rachkov: "Oil in U.S. Strategy: Where the Threat to Peace is Coming From"]

[Excerpt] As Pentagon Chief K. Weinberger admitted in January 1983: "the forces of rapid deployment" and Centcom [Central Command] among other tasks "were automatically directed to the oil industry".

What specifically is concealed by this orientation? The United States is the largest consumer of liquid fuel in the world: It is responsible for one-third of total oil consumption in the capitalist world, or approximately 800 million tons per year; in other words, almost as much as that of Western Europe and Japan combined.

Foreign oil is primarily considered as one of the cornerstones of the country's present and future energy resources in the United States. Imports have increased ten-fold over the last 30 years and had reached an average 400 million tons per year by the end of the last decade. Although the energy crisis that exploded between 1973 and 1974 stimulated the United States to more actively develop their own solid fuel resources, lowering import volumes by approximately one-third, foreign oil occupies an exceptionally important place in the fuel-energy balance of the country both today and in the long-range plan.

Strengthening the Currency at Foreign Expense. Foreign oil has also become a powerful factor for U.S. imperialism in supporting their foreign exchange-financial position in the international arena. And it is not just a question of the fact that up to 10 billion dollars of pure profit are transmitted to the United States every year from direct foreign investments by American oil monopolies--approximately as much as the monopolies of all other branches of the economy combined.

Control established in the postwar period by American monopolies over the majority of foreign concession oil production, processing, transport and marketing, forced importers, i.e., the overwhelming majority of countries of the world, to pay for the bulk of Near-Eastern, African and Latin American "black gold" in U.S. dollars. This system could not be shaken by the nationalization of concessions in young governments, which were tied to the capitalist oil market of the dollar dictator and had no choice for the time being but to take American currency for the bulk of their oil.

Thus oil-producing countries of capitalist orientation, seeing in the United States a guarantee of private enterprise profits, are depositing a large portion of their oil profits (petrodollars) back in American banks, and buying U.S. Government bonds and corporation shares, i.e., they are practically financing the American economy. According to calculations of Western experts, of the more than 400 billion "petrodollars" distributed abroad at the beginning of 1983, a minimum of 250 billion was in the United States.

The dollar has been practically backing not only the property of the United States itself, but also the petroleum riches of a number of Arab and other developing nations in the international arena for entire decades already. This is one of the reasons why the United States so easily abolished the gold standard at the beginning of the last decade and an intensified foreign currency expansion even more.

Resources for Financing Militaristic Programs. By printing dollars to back the majority of international financial operations with oil, the United States has flooded the capitalist money market with its currency, the total of which outside the United States long ago surpassed a trillion dollars. Although this money is not directly controlled by American financial centers, the U.S. federal authorities and major banks, through a complicated system of percentage rates, are cleverly using it as a powerful lever to undermine the position of foreign currency and to replenish their own resources of foreign currency by buying it and paying for it with virtually foreign "petro-dollars," and in general for additional financing of many American imperialist ventures.

The newest of these is the latest development in the arms race, which was started to attain strategic dominance over the USSR. It has brought along with it a dramatic increase in military expenditures, which in 1983 alone comprise 210 billion dollars. This is covered basically by an increased U.S. national debt, i.e., by a government budget deficit of more than 200 billion dollars per year. Deficits such as these should have been accompanied by an unprecedented inflationary explosion and a new retardation in economic growth rates, which so far the United States has managed to escape, largely thanks to the support of "petrodollars" of certain Near Eastern countries and to the financing of Western allies.

Specifically, of the approximately 250 billion dollars distributed throughout the United States by oil-producing governments, the overwhelming majority are in American Government bonds, i.e., practically permanent credit to the U.S. national budget with the lion's share going to the Pentagon, as everyone knows.

Oil, then, is one of the most powerful economic levers by which U.S. imperialism is able to solve many of its own currency and financial problems, especially the subsidizing of its dramatically increasing military burden.

12262

CSO: 1807/4

INTERNATIONAL

CHRISTIAN PEACE CONFERENCE HELD IN MOSCOW

LD181843 Moscow TASS in English 1808 GMT 18 Oct 83

[Text] Moscow, October 18, TASS--"For peace and life, against nuclear war"--this is how participants in the peacemaking movement--the Christian Peace Conference determine their tasks today. They point it out at a regular session of the working committee of the conference devoted to the 25th anniversary of the existence of this organization, which was celebrated last week in Prague.

The Christian Peace Conference received many congratulatory messages in connection with the anniversary of the peacemaking movement. A statement of Pimen, Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, points out, in part: "We are glad to underline that in the past quarter of a century the Christian Peace Conference, which has invariably maintained the Christian position of the strengthening of peace and confidence between nations, has enhanced its international prestige and gained worldwide recognition of the public."

It is pointed out in the documents that regional and continental committees of the Christian Peace Conference operate today in more than 80 countries. It has been registered in the U.N. as a non-governmental organization.

Religious figures--activists of the Christian Peace Conference came to Moscow from many European, Asian and African countries, from Latin America and the U.S.

Speaking at the session, Bishop Dr Karoly Toth from Hungary, president of the Christian Peace Conference, gave a detailed analysis of the present-day international situation. He stressed that the threat of a nuclear war was the main problem of today, that the unrestrained arms race was making this threat more real. He set in his report concrete tasks facing the Christian Peace Conference and other peacemaking movements, aimed at upholding peace and creating a climate of confidence between nations.

The report was followed by a discussion. Its participants are discussing various aspects of the participation of the conference. Christian churches and other organizations in upholding peace. It is especially stressed that the duty of every believer, every person of good will is to realise his own

responsibility for protecting the sacred gift of life on Earth from the threat of nuclear madness.

Sessions of the working committee of the Christian Peace Conference will last till the end of the week.

CSO: 1812/14

INTERNATIONAL

SOVIET 'ECUMENICAL SEMINAR' ASSESSES WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES ASSEMBLY

LD070856 Moscow TASS in English 0042 GMT 7 Oct 83

[Text] Moscow, October 6, TASS--The two-day ecumenical seminar devoted to the results of the Sixth Assembly of the World Council of Churches has closed here today. It was held in the assembly hall of the publications department of the Moscow Patriarchy. The meeting was attended by representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church, the Armenian Apostolic and the Georgian Orthodox Churches, the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christian Baptists and the Evangelical-Lutheran Churches in Latvia and Estonia. Most of the participants in the seminar were delegates to the assembly of the World Council of Churches in Vancouver last summer, at which the main theological subject was "Christ-life of peace."

Reports were delivered at the sessions of the seminar on theological problems, which were a subject of discussion at the assembly, on the socio-political results of the assembly, the structure of the World Council of Churches, the participation of women in the life of the church and the society, youth and others. A wide discussion was held on all reports.

As is pointed out in the papers adopted as a result of the seminar, the decisions taken by the assembly in Vancouver will serve as a basis for the ecumenical activities of all churches associated with the World Council of Churches for the next seven years.

The delegates to the seminar have also expressed their views on the present-day complicated international situation, and stressed the need for a broad participation of the churches and Christians in the movement for peace. They expressed, in particular, satisfaction with the successful completion of the Madrid meeting, which is evidence of the possibility to reach agreements on most important international issues. At the same time they declared their deep concern over the plans to deploy new American missiles in Europe. They pointed out with sorrow the incident with the provocative flight of the South Korean airliner over the Soviet Union's important defence areas, which resulted in a loss of human lives and caused a further build-up of tensions by the United States.

The statement by Yuriy Andropov, the head of the Soviet state, has been met with ardent approval by the churchmen attending the seminar. It was pointed out that in a complicated international situation it is precisely from the Soviet Union that words rang out expressing solicitude for the security for all peoples of the earth, of the whole world.

CSO: 1812/15

NATIONAL

SECOND RSDRP CONGRESS, PRESENT-DAY ROLE OF PARTY

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 7, Jul 83 (signed to press 6 Jul 83)
pp 45-62

[Article by P. A. Rodionov: "In Honor of the 80th Anniversary of the 2nd RSDRP Congress--The 2nd RSDRP Congress and Some Issues Involving Lenin's Teachings on the Party"]

[Text] There are certain events in history whose immense significance is revealed fully only with the passage of time. The 2nd Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party is just such an event. As was noted in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the 80th Anniversary of the 2nd RSDRP Congress", at this meeting the process was completed of uniting Russia's revolutionary Marxist organizations on the ideological, political, and organizational principles developed by Vladimir Il'yich Lenin. The Congress marked the entry of a new type of party into the historical arena--a party of the working class, a party of scientific communism, a party of socialist revolution and communistic creation, the living embodiment of the indissoluble unity of scientific theory and revolutionary practice. Its formation was the natural result of social development, and it was the turning point in the Russian and international workers' movement.¹

Behind the urgent debates which took place at the 2nd RSDRP Congress stood the greatest problems of the epoch. The fact that these problems found correct, Marxist solutions determined to a great extent the historical fate of the 20th century.

The creation of this new type of party was preceded by immense theoretical and practical activity on the part of V. I. Lenin--the brilliant heir of K. Marx and F. Engels, who continued their great work. He creatively developed the doctrines of the founders of scientific communism to conform with new historical conditions, on the basis of a generalization and critical analysis of revolutionary experience. It must be emphasized that the original ideas on the question of a party for the working class, and the principles for its creation and activities belong to Marx and Engels. It is especially important to point this out, keeping in mind the efforts of bourgeois ideologues and revisionists to separate Lenin's teachings about the party from Marxism. They are trying, on the one hand, to contrast Leninist doctrine on the party to the views of Marx and Engels; and on the other hand, to prove that the doctrine is of purely Russian and narrow national significance.

Furthermore, Lenin's teachings about the party reflect as much as possible the theory, as well as the revolutionary practice of Marxism, and the experience of the first international communist organizations. Like the contemporary communist movement, it is the direct continuation and thorough development of the brilliant ideas of Marx and Engels on the proletarian party, and its role in the communist transformation of society.

The greatest, truly invaluable service performed by V. I. Lenin for our party and people, and for the international communist movement and all of humanity, was his scientific proof, supported by the work of the founders of scientific communism and the experience of the Russian and international workers' movement, that under new historical conditions--the conditions of the imperialism of the working class--a new type of party was needed; a party was needed that was radically different from the parties of the 2nd International, a party of socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the people was needed. It was Lenin who created the integrated, harmonious doctrine for a new type of party, for a party as the vanguard of the working class, a party of the builders of socialism and communism. The foundation of this doctrine was the brilliant proposition of Marx and Engels that only an independent political party of the working class was capable of expressing properly and upholding and defending all workers' fundamental interests, their will, aspirations and goals; even under the most favorable political conditions, any success on the part of the working class depends on its development and organization.².

Even our ideological opponents must recognize the truth in this position. The bourgeois ideologue A. Meyer, who did quite a bit of "work" to misrepresent the history of our party and state, notes in his book "Leninism", "Perhaps the most notable contribution made by Lenin to the political life of the 20th century was the idea that the Communist Party is a creative force shaping history..."³.

In the materials that have been preserved from the 2nd Congress, there is documentary evidence of Lenin's uncompromising struggle for the ideological, tactical, and organizational principles of the new type of proletarian party, the Bolshevik party. Among these materials are about 150 speeches, comments, and remarks made by Lenin at the Congress. They all serve as graphic evidence of Lenin's truly titanic work, directed at the victory of the "Iskra" movement. In the most critical contests he upheld the party's militant and revolutionary character, and its leading role in the struggle for realization of the proletarian revolution and for the victory of socialism.

Lenin's speeches and documents from the 2nd RSDRP Congress are filled with the spirit of creative Marxism. When one reads today the writings of previous and contemporary falsifiers of history, who accuse Lenin of "inflexibility" and "dogmatism" at the Congress, one is struck by their ignorance. In fact, it was not Lenin and Leninists, but opportunists who exhibited at that time and later on rigidity and stagnation in their thinking. When Liber, one of the Bund leaders, reproached Lenin for deviating from certain established positions, Vladimir Il'yich responded with the objection: "We do not have any standard patterns here"⁴. Comparing the historical situations in the middle of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, V. I. Lenin emphasized that "they differ from each other in a most obvious way. If one does not pay any attention

to the conditions that have changed since then, if one defends the old resolutions of Marxism, one remains true to the letter, but not the spirit, of the teachings; one simply repeats from memory previous conclusions and does not know how to utilize the methods of Marxist research to analyze a new political situation"⁵.

The change in the historical conditions was evident: the 2nd RSDRP Congress met on the threshold of a new epoch, when world capitalism had entered its highest and last, imperialist stage of development. The epoch of the greatest revolutionary and social upheavals had arrived.

In Russia at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century the contradictions and social and economic antagonisms of capitalism manifested themselves with particular force and urgency, since they were aggravated by numerous remnants of serfdom and the oppression of tsarist autocracy. It was to Russia, standing on the threshold of a people's revolution, that the center of the world revolutionary movement was transferred. The tasks that stood before the Russian proletariat were tied closely to the resolution of the most complex theoretical and practical problems that were not only of a national nature, but an international nature. From this arose the objective necessity for creating a new type of party that differed fundamentally from Western European social democracy, whose leaders were leaning more and more toward social reformism.

It was the Bolshevik Party, formed by Lenin--the new type of party--that led the workers' movement out of the dead-end street of reformism onto the broad road of the revolutionary struggle, and called on the proletariat "to move forward fearlessly away from ready-made, legal organizations of the working class, imprisoned by opportunism, to revolutionary organizations of the proletariat, which is speaking out in the 'struggle for power' and in the struggle to overthrow the bourgeoisie, that know how not to be limited by legality, and are able to protect themselves against opportunistic betrayal"⁶.

The Leninist program of the RSDRP formed the theoretical foundation for all the practical activity of the party. But Vladimir Il'yich believed that the success of the practical work of the revolutionary Marxist party depended on more than just a good program. Lenin pointed out that the strength of ideas needs to be reinforced and multiplied by the strength of the organization. Therefore, it was important to define the main principles in the formation of the party itself, principles which would make it capable of fulfilling, not just in words, but in deeds, the great historic goals set forth in the program. These principles needed to be established clearly in the Charter, the basic code determining the party's life.

The attraction of great popular masses into the liberation struggle, which was so characteristic for the new historical epoch, and most important, the inevitable assimilation of the immense class struggles, have promoted persistently the need for a fundamentally new solution to the question of the party's role and tasks and of the forms and methods of its organization. As always, new tasks require new methods for their resolution.

European social democratic parties, formed under the conditions of the "peaceful period", adapted to legal forms of activity and were distinguished because of

this by ideological and organizational tenuousness, and could not serve as models for the proletarian vanguard that was aiming toward a social revolution. This is why Lenin was fully justified in saying, "We have nowhere to look for ready-made models".

The draft of the RSDRP Charter, prepared by Lenin for the 2nd Congress, provided for the creation of a new type of party--strong and fit for battle, united and disciplined, combining the strictest centralism with democratic norms of party life, and with the initiative of local cells and groups--a party tied closely to the masses. If the charters of the parties of the 2nd International emphasized only the party's propaganda and educational functions with regard to the working class, Lenin's Charter clearly formulated for the first time in the international workers' movement the position of the party as a leader in the proletarian struggle. In other words, this was an organization that had the power to serve as leader of the people's revolution.

Proceeding from the fact that the party's fighting ability, its ideological and organizational unity, and the success of its work depend primarily on the principles and origins on which it is constructed, Lenin devoted particular attention, while developing the theoretical and ideological foundations of the new type of party, to its organizational structure as well. It is no coincidence that in addition to the fundamental program position--the dictatorship of the proletariat--the most pointed disagreements at the 2nd Congress were centered around the party's organizational structure. It is also not coincidental that a bitter struggle flared up at the Congress over organizational issues, primarily over the question of membership in the RSDRP; this was a battle in which two opposing views on the character of the party clashed. V. I. Lenin pointed out that there was a clash between the proponents of bourgeois intellectual individualism and proletarian organization and discipline.

The Mensheviks, hiding behind phrases about the "truly social democratic" foundations of the organization, spoke out against the system of higher and lower party boards and in defense of a diffuse, organizationally splintered party organization. Unmasking the opportunism of the Mensheviks in organizational issues, Lenin showed convincingly that they were causing an erosion of the organizational boundaries between the party and the class and were also defending principles and norms under which the party was completely unable to fulfill its role as revolutionary leader of the proletariat.

Lenin taught that the party "should be the sum (and complex) of organizations"; that is, "cells united into one whole"⁸. This demand was contradicted by the Menshevik tendency toward anarchism of the nobility and intellectual individualism, which was reflected graphically in the formulation of the Charter's first paragraph put forth by L. Martov at the 2nd Congress. Although the opportunistic orientation was the victor in a vote on this point at the Congress, even Martov himself later admitted that "the significance of this defeat for Lenin [meaning the vote on the Charter's first paragraph--P. R.]...was reduced to nothing by the adoption of the Charter's other points"⁹.

Lenin, however, emphasized a number of times that the argument over the first paragraph was essentially a question of principle. After all, the question of who should be considered a party member and what responsibilities that entails, is tied in the final analysis to all the other questions involved in the party's organizational structure.

Lenin believed that Martov contributed a new principle with his formulation, which completely contradicted the principles of "Iskra" and the principle of centralism¹⁰. In his work "Shag vpered, dva shaga nazad" [One Step Forward, Two Steps Back], Vladimir Il'yich pointed out the fundamental significance of the disagreements over this issue and revealed the threat to the party represented by the Menshevik interpretation of RSDRP membership; he showed that the truly revolutionary, Marxist party can be militant and united, only if it is founded on the organizational principles of Bolshevism. Historical experience confirmed the truth of Lenin's position. Two years later the 3rd RSDRP Congress adopted Lenin's wording for the Charter's first paragraph.

Many hysterical complaints were heard at the 2nd Congress from the opportunists (they are repeated today by contemporary falsifiers of the history of the CPSU), over the fact that Lenin's Charter, and Lenin's wording of the first paragraph, threaten the party with "sectarianism", since it supposedly "closes the door" of the party to the working masses, and turns the party into a narrow, closed group of professional revolutionaries and into a conspiracy organization of the same type as "Narodnaya volya" [People's Freedom]. The idea, expressed by Trotskiy, that the Bolsheviks were in those years a group of intellectuals is exaggerated today as well in thick monographs written by anti-Soviets and anti-communists. The well-known "sovietologist" J. Lichtheim writes: "Bolshevism began its existence...as a political group...consisting primarily of students and declassed members of the nobility"¹¹. His ideas are repeated by other bourgeois authors such as L. Shapiro, M. Feinsod, and many others.

The facts completely refute these falsifications. An objective analysis of the party's composition in the first years after the 2nd Congress offers the following figures: workers accounted for 61 percent of those who joined the RSDRP before 1905 (of these, 48 percent were metal workers--the most advanced workers); 71 percent of those who joined the party between 1905 and 1907 were workers¹². Indeed, the nucleus of the party was a small circle of professional revolutionaries with the necessary knowledge and experience, who were supported by a broad network of peripheral party organizations. Around the party there was a "broad layer of peripheral party supporters and a huge mass of the class that was forming, choosing, and nourishing the party"¹³.

From the very beginning the Bolshevik Party was a proletarian party that drew in the most conscientious, influential, and authoritative elements of the Russian working class. From the very beginning it was a truly revolutionary organization that embodied the union of the theory of scientific communism with the practice of the workers' movement."

At the same time, Lenin was laying down clearly and invariably the boundary between the revolutionary vanguard and the entire class. He pointed out that "The party should be only the vanguard, the leader of the huge mass of the working class, which works entirely (or almost entirely) 'under the control and

leadership' of the party organizations, but which is not included entirely and should not be included entirely in the party"¹⁴.

In justifying the need for an independent revolutionary party of the working class, and in defining its character and the principles of party construction, Lenin believed that as the vanguard of the working class, it should be armed with revolutionary theory. As the highest form of political organization, the party is called on to play a leading role with respect to all other organizations of the working class. It can carry out its tasks successfully only if it is tied to the masses as closely as possible. Centralism in the party presumes firm leadership from a unified center, conscientious discipline, a high degree of responsibility on the part of the organization's members for the work at hand, and their unity and solidarity. But this centralism has a democratic character, since it assumes the creative initiative and independent activity of local organizations and broad party masses; as well as collective discussion and resolution of issues in party life. Party membership is incompatible with factionalism, revisionism, opportunism, dogmatism, and sectarianism. The party is not a federation of isolated national organizations, but a united, centralized organization supported by the entire proletariat without distinctions of language or nationality discrimination. It is these fundamental Leninist positions that give rise to the basic characteristics and features of the new type of party, which were reflected in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the 80th Anniversary of the 2nd RSDRP Congress".

It should be emphasized that the principles Lenin developed for the party structure are not just an expression of the party's organizational foundations. They also arise from its ideological and tactical foundations and at the same time provide concrete expression of these foundations in definite organizational forms and methods of leadership. No matter how perfect the party's organizational foundations were, it would not be able to fulfill its role as the vanguard of the working class if it were not supported by advanced theory, and if it did not develop it tirelessly and creatively. Only on the basis of advanced revolutionary teachings, such as Marxism-Leninism, is the party able to provide proper political leadership for the masses; to develop a scientifically sound strategical line; to apply skillfully versatile tactics, diverse campaign forms and methods; and to expose any manifestations of opportunism and revisionism.

The unalterable condition for unity of will and unity of action, without which the successful and fruitful activity of the Communist party is inconceivable, lies only in the integration of, and in the strict correspondence between the programmed goals and the political line, between strategy and tactics, between ideological views and organization.

If Lenin's teachings about the party as a whole comprise a key element of Marxism-Leninism, then the fundamental, formative beginning of the party's construction and its entire multi-faceted revolutionary transformation activity is the principle of democratic centralism, which is well known. It is determined by the character and natural principles of the class struggle, the social nature and position of the working class in national production, its historical mission, the objective necessity of its unity, the inherent properties and qualities of the working class, and first and foremost, by its revolutionary nature, and its degree of organization and discipline. Strict and

consistent observance of the demands of the given principle form the paramount condition for the successful activity of the party of the working class. Therefore, democratic centralism was and remains today the object of constant and ever-increasing attacks from opponents of Marxism-Leninism.

Contemporary bourgeois and revisionist "critics" of Lenin's teachings on the party are resurrecting the Menshevik-Trotskyite thesis about the freedom of factions and alignments and are fighting to replace communist parties with some conglomerate of heterogeneous organizations and elements. In exactly the same way that the Mensheviks did in their time, bourgeois ideologues and revisionists are discussing the hypertrophied centralism that is supposedly taking place in the CPSU and other communist parties, and which should be "overcome"; and they are calling democratic centralism a "combination of two incompatible factors".

A thesis is being circulated more and more among anti-communists which states that Lenin's principles for party construction, primarily the principle of democratic centralism, are predetermined by the specifics of political development in Russia; and under other conditions, especially under the conditions of developed countries in the West, they would be unacceptable. This is an objective necessity for the development of any true Marxist-Leninist party. There are even those among the bourgeois ideologues who admit this, or rather, are forced to admit the truth of this. M. Waller, an associate of Manchester University, devoted some of his work to an analysis of the development of the idea of democratic centralism, from its origins in the initial period of the history of the Bolshevik Party up to the contemporary epoch. The author was forced to admit that the political norms, tied traditionally to democratic centralism in communist parties that joined the Comintern earlier, "confirm the formation, strengthening, and continuing viability of the orthodox version of democratic centralism"¹⁶.

From the moment of our party's creation, the idea of democratic centralism has been part of its organizational structure. The party represented and still represents an integral system of organizations, within the limits of which are higher and lower organs, the minority is subordinate to the majority, the part to the whole, and so on.

Centralism in the Communist Party in no way contradicts the internal party democracy; on the contrary, it has a clearly expressed democratic character. It is tied organically to the elective nature, accountability, and removability of the governing organs; to the development of initiative among the party masses; and to making every possible use of their creative forces. Democratic centralism necessarily assumes that all communists will be drawn into active participation in the life and work of the party; as well as collective discussion and resolution of issues in party policies and practice.

The principle of democratic centralism, like all basic Leninist principles of party construction that were expressed in the Charter adopted at the 2nd RSDRP Congress and were developed later in Lenin's writings and in CPSU documents, have withstood the test of time splendidly. Its great vital strength has been proved by the many years of experience of the CPSU, as well as other Marxist-Leninist parties. We find confirmation of this conclusion in many documents of fraternal parties and of the international communist movement.

The CPSU has assigned in the past and still assigns paramount importance to the strict and consistent observance of Leninist norms and principles of party life, primarily the principle of democratic centralism. It proceeds from the fact that the activity involved in directing the most complex processes of communist construction would be inconceivable without the constant development of internal party democracy and simultaneous strengthening of party discipline. This was emphasized with new force in the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the November (1982) and June (1983) Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, and in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the 80th Anniversary of the 2nd RSDRP Congress". This is a guarantee of the successful realization by the CPSU of its leading role in the life of society.

The entire historical experience of revolutionary transformations in the USSR and other socialist countries has confirmed that the transition from capitalism to socialism is possible only under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party. The deeper and more complex the tasks of socialist transformations, the broader are the masses of workers drawn into the process, and the stronger the need for conscientiousness and organization contributed by the revolutionary vanguard to the movement of the masses. Historical experience provides convincing evidence that the truly revolutionary party of the working class is governed invariably by Marxist-Leninist theory, which provides the only true reference point in the struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution, and in the construction of a new society; and the true revolutionary party creatively develops Marxism-Leninism. The party, as is noted in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the 80th Anniversary of the 2nd RSDRP Congress", "critically analyzes the results of its revolutionary transformation activities and its policies; it constantly studies, evaluates, and utilizes the experience accumulated by the international communist movement"¹⁷.

Lenin's teachings about the party and the principles of its construction and activities are not just a page that has been turned, as our ideological opponents and the revisionists are trying to persuade us; they are priceless property, that is eternally alive and victorious; the teachings are universal. The doctrine is found in the arsenal of all true Marxist-Leninist parties; it is being developed constantly and creatively, and it is being enriched by new experience.

There is more and more discussion in the West to the effect that the CPSU and other parties in socialist countries have become infused with a dogmatic understanding of Marxism-Leninism, including the teachings about the party. In reality, as comrade Yu. V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, emphasized in the article "The Teachings of Karl Marx and Some Questions of Socialist Construction in the USSR", which represents a major contribution to the theory and practice of communist construction, the CPSU assigns a great deal of importance to the development of Marxism-Leninism, since its creative essence itself requires this. The article states, "So that they will not lag behind in life, communists should move and enrich in all directions the teachings of Marx, and should put into practice creatively the method of materialist dialectics he developed, which is rightfully called the vital spirit of Marxism. Only this approach to our priceless ideological legacy, for which Lenin gave us a model, only this continuous self-renewal of revolutionary theory

under the influence of revolutionary practice can make Marxism a true science and art of revolutionary creation. This is the secret of the strength of Marxism-Leninism, and its unfading freshness."¹⁸

Under contemporary conditions, the following natural principle is being manifested more noticeably and more fully: the more extensively the creation of a new order spreads, the greater the significance of Marxist-Leninist theory and of its constant creative development, which means the greater the role of the party as the living embodiment of this theory. New phenomena and processes of social practice, which are often quite complex, dictate the need for in-depth theoretical understanding. The party and its personnel, including scientific personnel, are called upon, in the words of Friedrich Engels, "to grasp correctly the character, significance, and necessary consequences of major historical events while these events are still passing before our eyes, or right after they have occurred"¹⁹. The CPSU exhibits tireless concern for the all-around development and further enrichment of theory through new conclusions based on generalization of practice and experience; taking into account processes occurring in life and phenomena, changing circumstances and specific conditions, and the experience of fraternal parties. The 26th CPSU Congress pointed out the increasing importance of theory development.

The June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee set forth as one of the main goals of the party's ideological activity under contemporary conditions, the provision of a new, significantly higher level of development of the social sciences, turning them decisively toward real, practical tasks, which life presents to our society--a society of developed socialism.

The most important problems that the social sciences have been called on to resolve were presented in the program speech given at the Plenum by comrade Yu. V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. He dwelled especially on the tasks involved in the preparation of a new edition of the party Program, which "under contemporary conditions should be first and foremost a program of systematic and comprehensive improvement of developed socialism, which also means a program for further progress toward communism"²⁰.

All this is related directly to Lenin's teachings about the party. Together with the theoretical development of the most important problems in communist creation, the CPSU is developing these teachings creatively and is working out the problems of party construction; it is following firm ideological and organizational principles and it is taking into account the specific circumstances and urgent tasks in the life of the society. Lenin's teachings about the party are being enriched constantly in CPSU documents, in the work of CPSU leaders, and in the work of social scientists; the effect of natural principles in the development of the CPSU under the conditions of developed socialism is being revealed; paths are being pointed out which lead to further strengthening of the party's leadership and organizational influence in all spheres of social life.

Of special importance here are the conclusions and propositions concerning the growing role of the party as the tasks of communist construction grow more complicated; and concerning the dialectical interdependence between the class character of the CPSU and its essence which involves all people.

It is well known that the 26th CPSU Congress confirmed with new force the conclusion that in the period of developed socialism, the role of the party in the life of society grows steadily. This conclusion is an integral part of the concept of developed socialism; it is based on Marxist-Leninist positions on the relationship between the objective and subjective, on the priority of a conscious beginning over a haphazard one, which have been confirmed by the rich experience of the CPSU and the experience of a developed socialist society. From this it follows that the question of the place and role of the Communist Party in the life of a socialist society is a fundamental question in the theory and practice of scientific communism, and that the increase in the party's leadership role is an important natural principle in our society's development, since subjective factors take on special importance as the scale and tasks of socialist and communist construction, along with its management, become more complex. For this natural principle to be manifested in full force, the development of the party should proceed constantly on the basis of its inherent laws, on the basis of strict and consistent observance of Leninist norms for party life. It is even more important to emphasize, as was noted at the 26th CPSU Congress, what we know well from the experience of the past and present: the role of the leading force in society does not simply arise spontaneously; it must be won²¹ in the course of a constant, incessant campaign for the interests of the workers²¹.

Under the conditions of the acute aggravation of the struggle between the two opposing social systems, unprecedented in the entire post-war period, imperialist ideologues are tying their hopes and calculations for the so-called "erosion" of socialism primarily to a weakening of the leadership and directive influence of the communist parties, which would be desirable to them; and to a blow to the parties' prestige and a decline in their fighting efficiency. It is around Lenin's teachings about the party, its place and role in society, and the principles of organization and activities, that an especially sharp ideological battle is being waged today.

Our ideological and class opponents are making every effort to weaken the leadership role of the governing Marxist-Leninist parties; to replace socialist democracy with bourgeois political pluralism; and to "wash away" socialist positions. As was noted at the 26th CPSU Congress, they are learning from their defeats and are acting against countries of socialism with greater guile and treachery; they are intensifying their injurious activity, making use of errors and miscalculations²² in the internal politics of the governing parties; such was the case in Poland²².

On the other hand, our foreign opponents, who deny the conclusion about the growing role of the party and its place in the political system of Soviet society, often state that at the very foundation of this position there is a manifestation of the party's efforts to rule over society, to increase its rights at the expense of mass workers' organizations, and that this is nothing more than turning the party into a state structure.

The groundlessness of such assertions is completely obvious. The dialectics of our development are such that along with an increase in the party's role, there is expansion of the rights of state and social organizations. Constant

improvement of socialist democracy, further development of the creative activity of the masses, expansion of their participation in state and social control, have been defined by the party as the primary, main road for the movement of Soviet society toward communism, since, as Lenin taught, socialism "cannot be implemented by a minority--the party"; "it can be introduced by millions of people when they have learned to accomplish this themselves"²³. This line is being realized successfully.

Having noted that the deep democracy of the Soviet political system has been expressed in a concentrated manner in the new Constitution of the USSR, the 26th CPSU Congress pointed out that it is necessary to continue in the future the improvement of the socialist state system, democracy, law and order, and the system of people's control; and to bring workers into the management of society's affairs. One of the pressing, objectively prerequisite demands for social development in our country as well as in other socialist states, is further improvement in all links of state and social control over the processes involved in the construction of socialism and communism; expansion and maximum deepening of the functions of various institutes and links in the political organization or system of the society, and their interconnections. The party rightfully is at the head of this process, as the governing nucleus of the political system in the socialist society.

The dynamic social development in the USSR and other socialist countries, the ever-increasing scale of socialist and communist construction, and the significant strengthening of internal political activity objectively dictate the need for an increase in the role of the Communist Party in the control of social, economic, and spiritual spheres, and in providing the proper and most effective interaction among all links in the political system of socialist society, as well as the interrelationship of economic, social, and political elements; this is the most important feature of management under contemporary conditions. Comrade Yu. V. Andropov notes that the real issue here is not that the contemporary image of the socialist state and democracy does not correspond to the prospect for communist self-government outlined by Marx: there are quite a few distinctions that separate us from the second phase of communism that can be seen with the help of historical distance. "Something else is much more important: this system is functioning and improving; it is always finding new forms and methods for developing democracy, expanding the proprietary rights and opportunities of the working man in production and in all social and political practice--from deputies' committees and people's control to permanent working production conferences. This is the real socialist self-government of the people that is developing in the course of the construction of communism."²⁴

In his speech at the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, comrade Yu. V. Andropov noted that the CPSU sees longer range prospects in this area "in the progressive development of the Soviet state system into social self-government. We believe that this will occur with the further development of the state that is for all the people, and with broader inclusion of the masses in the management of society's affairs. It is obvious that this process will not occur by itself and not simply through someone's good will. It is determined by the society's material possibilities and the level of political consciousness and culture of the masses...We should not be devising abstract future paths and forms for spreading democracy, we should be proceeding from

practical experience. This offers a guarantee of the practicality of our program goals."²⁵

The leadership role of the CPSU in the life of Soviet society was reinforced in the USSR Constitution of 1977. No privileges for the party, however, proceed from the legislative reinforcement of the leadership role of the party in our state and society. On the contrary, increased responsibility is given to the party, since the CPSU realizes its leadership role not by force of power, but through its great political authority and ideological influence among the masses. Governing the activity of the Councils and other organizations, the CPSU does not replace them, but carries out its policies primarily through communists working in these organizations. The party's political control is also of decisive importance for all links in the society's political system, which take its directives as guidance for their actions.

In contrast to revisionist concepts, the CPSU has always proceeded and continues to proceed from the idea that the leadership of the governing Marxist-Leninist party encompasses all spheres of public life--economic, social, and ideological.

The party carries out its guidance of society through its inherent forms and methods of political, organizational, and ideological education work, and not through administration and command, which are foreign to the very nature, character, and spirit of the party. In all its practical activities it utilizes persuasion first and foremost as the primary method of party influence.

As has been noted, the objective natural principle of the increase in the party's role in socialist society is being manifested especially deeply and thoroughly under the conditions of developed socialism, when the principles of social organization and public life, corresponding to the Marxist-Leninist ideas about this phase, are operating at full force; and when we have different possibilities and social demands, and when an in-depth reorganization is taking place in many aspects of the practical activities of the party and people. At the contemporary stage, there is especially graphic manifestation of factors revealed in the CPSU Program that require further growth in the role of the CPSU as the guiding and directing force of Soviet society; these are factors that are being added to constantly by new content, corresponding to the degree of development of socialist social relations. This in turn dictates the need for a higher level of political and organizational guidance in all spheres of public life, and economic and cultural construction.

There is a wealth of material aiding in the study of the process of the increased leadership role of the CPSU under the conditions of developed socialism, and the interaction of the factors affecting this process, to be found in the documents of the 26th CPSU Congress; the November (1982) and June (1983) Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee; the speech by Yu. V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, "Sixty Years of the USSR"; and his article, "The Teachings of Karl Marx and Some Questions of Socialist Construction in the USSR", in which the program positions of the party were developed further in light of contemporary demands and goals.

In his speech at the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, comrade Yu. V. Andropov emphasized that "the resolution of the immense tasks facing the

country requires a further increase in the leadership role of the party. Therefore the party should be improving constantly the forms and methods of its own work. In light of this, the CPSU Program contains a number of propositions which still need to be put into practice. New issues are also arising."²⁶ Among the pressing problems in this regard, the following were noted: proper distribution of functions among the organs of the party and the state; further development of internal party democracy; and an increase in the creative activity, initiative, and responsibility of communists.

The work of the CPSU to put into practice the decisions of its 26th Congress provides new, convincing material for the proper understanding of the dialectical relationship between the class character and the essence of the party that is for all the people, which reflects the deep social, economic, and political changes in the life of the society, and touches primarily on questions such as the formation of membership and expansion of the social base of the CPSU; strengthened verification of fulfillment and implementation of personnel policies; strengthened party discipline and simultaneous expansion and deepening of party democracy; further strengthening and consolidation of ties with the masses²⁷. This is of great theoretical and practical importance.

Under conditions of developed socialism, the CPSU has remained the party of the working class, and, as is well-known, has become at the same time the party of all Soviet people. In this connection, it must be pointed out that after this situation was reflected in the CPSU Program, for some time in scientific literature added emphasis was placed on this second aspect, the party as an organization for all the people. This is not a sound approach. The CPSU has been and remains first and foremost a party of the working class; this is emphasized invariably in the party's documents.

One of the arguments of bourgeois and revisionist propaganda against the leadership role of the Communist Party under contemporary conditions is constructed on the false, groundless assertion that there has been a curtailment of the leadership role of the working class and a certain "political pluralism" has arisen in socialist society. "Sovietologists" explain this mythical phenomenon as a result of the "erosion" of the working class and the emergence in the forefront of representatives of the scientific and technical intelligentsia. From this false premise they draw conclusions about the "obsolescence" of Marxist-Leninist teachings about the party and its leadership role in socialist society; they assert that under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution, the question of the mission of the working class is quite a different one; and that a new approach is needed to the question of the party's place in the political system of a socialist society.

However, the scientific and technical revolution with all its consequences does not provide any basis for renouncing Lenin's teachings on the party and its role and place in the revolutionary process of transforming the world along socialist lines. The party alone, with its knowledge of the laws of social development and scientific methods for analyzing concrete social and economic processes, is capable of guaranteeing an organic union between the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution and the advantages of socialism; as well as skillful, extensive, and timely utilization of the achievements of world

scientific and technical progress, and everything that is new and advanced which can and should serve the interests of socialist and communist construction.

In a developed socialist society the role of the working class is growing constantly; it continues to be the leading force of communist construction and social progress, in spite of the assertions made by bourgeois ideologues and revisionists. Under contemporary conditions it is subject not only to quantitative changes, but also to deep qualitative changes. Today the working class accounts for two-thirds of our country's population. It continues to be the bearer of revolutionary ideology and ethics and collectivist psychology; at the same time it is the bearer of the most modern forms of social organization of labor, and an initiator of and active participant in the introduction of achievements of the scientific and technical revolution into practice. There is a steady rise in its general educational and ideological and political level. Four-fifths of all our country's workers have secondary (complete and incomplete) education or higher education.

The party will preserve its class character up until the time that our society becomes socially homogeneous. It is no coincidence that there is a steady increase in the proportion of members of the working class in its ranks. Between 1966 and 1970, members of the working class accounted for 52 percent of those joining the party; this figure was 57.6 percent between 1971 and 1975; over the past 5 years the figure reached 59 percent. In 1982 workers accounted for 59.4 percent of the total number of people joining the party²⁸. In the CPSU there are 8 million workers altogether, out of a total membership of 18,118,000²⁹.

It is also true, however, that under conditions of developed socialism, the Soviet people as a whole have adopted the communist world view of the working class and its collectivist psychology; and the party which is the party of the working class, has become under these conditions the vanguard and the party of all the people. The main trend in the contemporary development of our society lies in the further strengthening of the ideological, political, and international unity of the Soviet people, in a gradual, but substantial and steady movement forward along the path for practical resolution of the task set by V. I. Lenin--the union of the party and the working class, the working masses, into one indissoluble whole³⁰. As was pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress, the formation of our society's classless structure will take place primarily within the historical bounds of developed socialism. The basis for this conclusion, which has great theoretical and political importance, lies in the processes of overcoming social and class differences that are occurring actively now. Such are the dialectics of the party's class aspect and the party as a party of all the people as reflected in the activities of the CPSU under conditions of developed socialism.

At the new stage in the life and development of the party, which corresponds to the period of developed socialism, there is a sudden increase in the importance of the relationship, determined by historical practice, between the internal life of the party and the degree of its influence on various processes of social development; or in other words, there is an increase in the role and significance of the influence of internal party life on the entire life of society, including of course, its political system. Such is the mechanism of

the continuous process. The party recognizes that the successful fulfillment of its ever-growing role in the life of society is based on political and ideological maturity, on unity and solidarity among the party ranks, on consistent and creative application of Leninist principles of party construction, and on constantly increasing the responsibility of the CPSU for all the work of socialist and communist construction. In the steady improvement of its work and in perfecting the forms and methods of political leadership, the party takes into account and actively utilizes the conditions and opportunities of the contemporary stage of social development.

Through guaranteeing the continuity of the Leninist general course and at the same time taking thoroughly into account new conditions and demands, the CPSU demonstrates its tireless concern for further steady rises in the level of its organizational and ideological work; for consistent implementation of the principle of collectivism and democracy; for improving the qualitative composition and ideological and organizational strengthening of party ranks; for better verification of fulfilling the work of selection, placement, and education of personnel; for the development of criticism and self-criticism; for maximum strengthening of discipline; for increasing the vanguard role of communists; improving the structure of party organs and primary party organizations, and the style, forms, and methods of their work; and strengthening the ties with the masses.

It is in these basic directions that the CPSU is being strengthened continuously and that its internal life and organizational and political leadership is being improved. On this basis a program requirement is being implemented: the party should serve as an example and model for all state and social organizations whose activities it coordinates and directs; it should help them in the development and application of the best and most effective forms and methods for their work. As the nucleus of the political system of Soviet society, the party also serves as an example of a democratic organization in all its activities. Many of the norms of party life, and forms and methods of party operation and management have already become and will be in the future, models for the creation of forms of communist self-government. The CPSU is working out and consistently developing the democratic principles which enter into all spheres of life in Soviet society and actively affect the development of socialist social relations. The party demonstrates thorough concern for the creation of conditions for increasing the creative independent activity and social involvement of the workers³¹.

The problems involved in increasing the influence of the CPSU on society and the development of the party itself are inseparable. The goals of ever-increasing complexity that life sets before the party cannot be fulfilled if the party does not develop as a dynamic organism and if in the process of this development, the unity, solidarity, and activity of its ranks are not steadily deepening and growing stronger. Therefore, the party with new force is indicating the definitive, key significance of Leninist norms of party life; principles of party leadership; constant strengthening of the ideological and organizational unity of the ranks of the CPSU; and improving the style, forms, and methods of party work.

Recent years have been characterized by further intensification of the influence of the Communist Party on the entire diverse and complex process of the construction of communism. Measures taken by the party and its Central Committee to improve its internal life and its leadership activity, are of complex, systematic nature. The main emphasis here is placed on increasing the scientific foundation and effectiveness of party work.

In the final analysis, this finds concrete expression in the deep and positive results of the leadership activities of the party and all its units, and in the increased effectiveness of this work. The basic criteria for the effectiveness are: the indestructible unity of the party and the people; a high level of socialist consciousness and labor and political activity among Soviet people; their unlimited devotion to the work of the Communist Party, and their high degree of organization and responsibility to society; successes in the realization of plans of communist construction; and constantly growing socialist patriotism and internationalism. Thus, further, substantial enrichment of the internal life of the party plays an immense and essentially decisive role.

Under contemporary conditions, when the party is forced to resolve problems that are immense in their scale, complexity, and significance, moral factors take on even greater importance: political maturity; a high level of communist conscientiousness and discipline among communists; a heightened sense of personal responsibility for the state of affairs in one's collective and in society as a whole, and a sense of responsibility for putting the general party line into practice.

The vanguard role assumes a unity of communist convictions and actions among communists, as well as a high degree of discipline and organization. The party demands of its members that they be in the forefront of the struggle for everything progressive, for increasing the effectiveness of national production, for accelerating scientific and technical progress, for new social relations; and against all manifestations of bourgeois ideology, nationalism, deviations from norms of communist ethics and morality; and against inertia and stagnation.

In addition to the great achievements of which we are justifiably proud, the party also sees difficulties, shortcomings, and unresolved problems. There are also certain contradictions in our society of a non-antagonistic nature, which can be overcome through purposeful regulation in the sphere of economics and in the area of social relations. There are also quite a few shortcomings caused by subjective factors, and by organization of labor that is not always efficient. Sharp criticism of shortcomings is an eloquent illustration of the indisputable position that a socialist society is a dynamic, continuously developing society, which under the guidance of the party is capable of prompt elimination of barriers and obstacles on the complicated, difficult, but truly victorious path of communist transformations. The 26th CPSU Congress and the November (1982) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee pointed out the need for continued strengthening of the atmosphere of self-criticism and irreconcilability with shortcomings. This is in complete agreement with Lenin's position that the party of the revolutionary proletariat is strong enough to criticize itself openly, and to call a mistake a mistake and a weakness a weakness³².

Our society's strength lies in the conscientiousness of the masses. The party assigns great importance to ideological and political education work. Graphic evidence of this can be seen in the work of the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, which provided the party with a clear, concrete program for its ideological activity, which comrade Yu. V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, called in his speech at the Plenum one of the most important, integral parts of communist construction³³. In this speech, in a report given by comrade K. U. Chernenko, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and in the Decree of the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the most important goals in this area were set forth; the basic directions for ideological and mass political work of the CPSU were outlined, as were further strengthening of its ties with the life and practice of communist construction, increasing its effectiveness, and enriching it with new forms and methods.

Characteristic of Lenin's party over the course of its entire history have been its aiming toward the future, its scientific and innovative approach to matters, and its tireless concern for deepening its ties with the popular masses. It was emphasized at the 26th CPSU Congress that the strength of the party lies in its unity with the people. And the strength of the people lies in their unity with the party and in its leadership³⁴. This formula expresses the very essence of the problem of mutual relations between the party and people under conditions of socialism. The party shows tireless concern over strengthening these ties. An attentive approach to the people, a patient and skillful explanation of the ideas of the CPSU and its decisions helps to unite the masses and to direct their energy toward fulfillment of goals that have been set. In its practical work to expand and strengthen its ties with the masses, the party uses the basic method of party influence--the method of persuasion and education; it assigns a great deal of importance to the expansion of publicity and graphic evidence of this can be seen in the systematic reports that appear in the press, and on radio and television about the regular meetings of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee.

The primary party organizations that are on the front line in the campaign for communism play a special role in the diverse activities directed at strengthening the party's ties with the broad masses of workers. The primary party organizations connect the governing organs of the party to the masses of workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia; it is through these organizations that the party reaches every collective and every worker, and educates, unites, organizes, and rouses communists and all workers to fulfill the plans for economic and cultural construction. CPSU documents are the graphic embodiment of the party's course for further, maximum increases in the role of its local units in the strengthening of ties with broad masses of workers and in resolving social and economic tasks. Special attention is given in the documents to see that in all cases (whether it be a personnel question, a question involving fulfillment of economic plans or improvement of people's working and living conditions) the primary organizations make better and fuller use of the right granted to them by the CPSU Charter to control administrative activities; the primary organizations should demonstrate high principles and initiative, should persistently overcome departmental or bureaucratic barriers; and should follow the party line closely in all matters and at all times³⁵. Today the position presented in the classic works of Marxism-Leninism that the lower units of the

proletarian party are the center, nucleus, and basis of the party, have a particularly timely ring.

Following Lenin's precept that our major effect on the international revolution comes as a result of our economic policies, the party teaches Soviet people to see the organic connection between the the domestic and foreign policies of the CPSU. This connection is examined in detail in the documents of the 26th CPSU Congress and the subsequent Plenums of the Central Committee. All the efforts of the Soviet people are concentrated in two interconnected directions--one is communist creation; the other is the campaign for peace.

Finally, it is necessary to emphasize that the CPSU from its very first steps has been a party of consistent socialist internationalism. Today the interantionalist principles are embodied in the name of the party itself; in the new party card; in the policies of the CPSU; and in its consistent struggle for strengthening friendship of peoples. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is deeply internationalist in its ideology and³ policies, and in its organizational structure and principles for its activities.

The Bolshevik Party was the first political party in history built on the principle of uniting proletariat organizations, in which workers of all nationalities had merged into a united, militant force. This principle has been put into practice steadily since the victory of the October Revolution and the formation of the USSR.

The Communist Party embodies the internationalist character of the ideology and politics of the working class. The CPSU won its right to be the leader of the workers of all nations and peoples in the country through its unlimited devotion to the ideals of communism, through great attention to the national interests and feelings of all peoples, and through its uncompromising attitude toward³⁸ all manifestations of bourgeois nationalism, chauvinism, and national nihilism. Proper party leadership in the sphere of national relations, which is based on Marxist-Leninist principles, is an essential condition for the progress of a multinational socialist society, and for ever-increasing assimilation among nations on a truly democratic, internationalist basis, as Lenin stated.

The CPSU itself was and remains the embodiment of internationalism, which permeates all of its organizational relations and principles: questions involving party membership, organizational structure, formation of party organs, and personnel policies.

When speaking of the internationalist character of the CPSU in the international arena, one should mention that in its first Program, adopted at the 2nd RSDRP Congress, the party stated that it considered itself one of the detachments of the worldwide army of the proletariat. And in the party's Charter that is in force today, the CPSU proclaims that it is an integral part of the international communist and workers' movement and actively promotes the strengthening of its unity, and that it stands firmly on the tested Marxist-Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism. The construction of communism itself in our country, the struggle of the party and people for improving developed socialism, and all the creative activity of the Soviet people are the most graphic embodiment of the unity of national goals and the most important international

duty of our party and people. The foreign policy of the CPSU has an internationalist, class character. It is directed at creating favorable international conditions for the successful construction of socialism and communism in socialist countries; at constant, all-around strengthening of the fraternal alliance and unity of states of socialist cooperation; at providing all possible assistance to the workers' and national liberation movements; to preserving and strengthening peace, and averting nuclear war. Finally, the loyalty of the CPSU to Lenin's internationalist precepts is manifested convincingly in its consistent and persistent struggle to strengthen the solidarity of socialist cooperation, not only with all the detachments of the communist and workers' movement, but also with those of the national liberation movement.

Comrade Yu. V. Andropov emphasized in his speech at the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee that "In our epoch it is socialism that is coming forward as the most consistent defender of healthy principles in international relations, and as a defender of the interests³⁹ of detente and peace, and the interests of every people and all humanity".

The theoretical and practical activity of the CPSU, its consistent, tireless campaign for the solidarity of socialist cooperation; for the unity of the international communist movement; and against the various manifestations of bourgeois ideology, reformism, opportunism, nationalism, and social chauvinism, receives the approval and support of all truly revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist parties. A number of times Lenin indicated that an internationalist is someone who not only proclaims the principle of proletarian internationalism, but puts it into practice in a reverent manner. Thus, according to Lenin, a communist must "know how to be, even in the most difficult times, an internationalist in deed"⁴⁰.

The CPSU has always provided and continues to provide a graphic example of fidelity to its international duty, and an example of high responsibility for the fate of the international communist and workers' movement, for the all-around, deep development of the worldwide revolutionary process.

Eight decades separate us from the 2nd RSDRP Congress. During this time the face of the world has changed drastically. It is even more evident that the work started by the historic congress lives on and is victorious. The Great October Socialist Revolution took place. Developed socialism has been built in our country, and the process of its improvement is moving along continuously. Peaceful cooperation among countries of socialism has emerged and is developing. The colonial system of imperialism has collapsed. There is no doubt that the origins of the immense changes in the development of humanity go back to the beginning of the 20th century, to the 2nd Congress of our party, which raised up the banner of Marxist ideas. This renewal of the world is in the final analysis a result of the creative application and development of revolutionary theory, including Lenin's teachings about the party.

The historical experience of the CPSU in putting into practice the ideas and principles of Marxism-Leninism and in leading the revolutionary struggle of the working masses and the construction of socialism and communism, and the experience of developing Lenin's party, are now the property of fraternal

parties in countries of socialist cooperation, and of the entire international communist and workers' movement; they have enriched the treasury of the entire worldwide revolutionary process.

FOOTNOTES

1. "O 80-letii Vtorogo s'yezda RSDRP. Postanovleniye TsK KPSS 31 marta 1983 goda" [On the 80th Anniversary of the 2nd RSDRP Congress. Decree of the CPSU Central Committee, 31 March 1983], Moscow, 1983, p 3.
2. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Sochineniya" [Works], Vol 4, pp 419-459; Vol 7, pp 565-568; Vol 17, pp 445-454; Vol 18, pp 203; 260; 263-265; and elsewhere.
3. A. Meyer, "Leninism", Cambridge, 1957, p 19.
4. "Vtoroy s'yezd RSDRP. Protokoly" [The 2nd RSDRP Congress. Protocols], Moscow, 1959, p 243.
5. V. I. Lenin, "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy" [Complete Works], Vol 7, p 237.
6. Ibid., Vol 26, pp 255-256.
7. Ibid., Vol 4, p 190.
8. Ibid., Vol 8, pp 241-242.
9. L. Martov, "Istoriya Rossiyskoy sotsial-demokratii" [The History of the Russian Social Democracy], Moscow-Petrograd, 1923, p 76.
10. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 8, p 48.
11. George Lichtheim, "A Short History of Socialism", London, 1970, p 253.
12. "Revolutsiya 1905-1907 godov v Rossii i yeye vseмирno-istoricheskoye znachenie" [The Revolution of 1905-1907 in Russia and its Worldwide Historical Significance], Moscow, 1976, p 176.
13. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 24, p 34.
14. Ibid., Vol 7, p 289.
15. "O 80-letii...", op. cit., pp 4-5.
16. M. Waller, "Democratic Centralism. An Historical Commentary", Manchester, 1981, pp 30-32.
17. "O 80-letii...", op. cit., p 4.
18. Yu. V. Andropov, "Ucheniye Karla Marksa i nekotoryye voprosy sotsialisticheskogo stroitel'stva v SSSR" [The Teachings of Karl Marx and Some Questions of Socialist Construction in the USSR], Moscow, 1983, p 29.

19. Marx and Engels, op. cit., Vol 22, p 189.
20. "Materialy Plenuma Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS 14-15 iyuniya 1983 goda" [Materials on the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, 14-15 June 1983], Moscow, 1983, pp 8-9.
21. "Materialy XXVI s'yezda KPSS" [Materials on the 26th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1981, pp 218-219.
22. Ibid., p 9.
23. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 36, p 53.
24. Andropov, op. cit., pp 21-22.
25. "Materialy Plenuma...", op. cit., p 17.
26. Ibid., pp 25-26.
27. "Teoreticheskiye problemy razvitogo sotsializma" [Theoretical Problems of Developed Socialism], Moscow, 1979, pp 21-41.
28. PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN', No 8, 1983, p 20.
29. I. V. Kapitonov, "Development of Activity among Workers, Strengthening Discipline, and Improving the Style of Work--Pressing Tasks for Primary Party Organizations", PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN', No 9, 1983, p 13.
30. K. Chernenko, "The Great Unity of the Party and the People", KOMMUNIST, No 17, 1980, p 11.
31. Andropov, op. cit., p 23-24.
32. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 26, p 172.
33. "Materialy Plenuma...", op. cit., p 5.
34. "Materialy XXVI s'yezda...", op. cit., p 219.
35. Ibid., p 71.
36. Marx and Engels, op. cit., Vol 7, p 262; Lenin, op. cit., Vol 13, p 60.
37. "O 60-y godovshchine obrazovaniya Soyuza Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik. Postanovleniye TsK KPSS ot 19 fevralya 1982 goda" [On the 60th Anniversary of the Formation of the USSR. Decree of the CPSU Central Committee from 19 February 1982], Moscow, p 5.
38. Ibid.
39. "Materialy Plenuma...", op. cit., p 25.

40. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 31, p 177.

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PRAVDA ON ROLE, AGENDA OF SOVIET SOCIOLOGISTS

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[Article by Professor A. Zdravomyslov, member of the Presidium of the Soviet Sociological Association, under the rubric "Questions of Theory": "Sociology: Problems and Prospects"]

[Text] Solving specific questions of economic practice and the improvement of socialist democracy and ideological and educational work is unthinkable today without constantly referring to the research results of philosophers, economists, sociologists, lawyers, and psychologists. And this is understandable. After all, socialism is a society which is built on a scientific basis, develops along scientific lines, and needs to be carefully studied. At the same time, the assistance rendered to the party by the social sciences could be more effective.

In his speech at the CPSU Central Committee June (1983) Plenum Comrade YU.V. Andropov noted that "we still have not made a proper study of the society in which we live and work.... For this reason we are at times forced to act, so to say empirically, using the highly inefficient method of trial and error."

Indubitably, the level of efficiency and scientific substantiation of the decisions that are being adopted can be enhanced through a deeper analysis of the social consequences of scientific and technical progress, the revelation of the social reserves for economic and cultural growth, and the elucidation of the natural laws governing the molding, functioning, and development of social relations not only in society as a whole, but also on the scale of regions, national economy sectors, and labor collectives. In other words, the resolution of the varied tasks set by life demands the active participation of Soviet social scientists, sociologists included.

Marxist sociological science, as regards both its theoretical content and its practical, applied, aspect, represents the sphere of social sciences which studies the needs, interests, and values of different groups of the population. The main areas of sociological research are: problems in reconciling personal, collective, and social interests; determining the level of collectives' social maturity; motives for participation or nonparticipation in management; the level of people's satisfaction with their work and

with other aspects of life and their involvement in competition; developing a genuinely socialist attitude to labor; exposing the roots of philistine and petit-bourgeois sentiments and consumerist mentality and the causes of crime, nervous and mental disease, drunkenness, and alcoholism; analysing the effectiveness of specific social control measures; finding the methods best suited--from the viewpoint of socialist criteria--for boosting the individual's activeness, initiative, and creativeness, and his ability to assert himself under diverse social conditions. It is precisely the relations between society, the collective, and the individual in their diverse perspectives and cross-sections which make up the subject matter of sociology.

Why, for instance, are the collectives of certain shops at an enterprise noted for high stability, coordinated work, and a sense of responsibility, while in others there is a considerable turnover of cadres and conflicts occur regularly? How long does it take for a young worker who has joined a collective to become a full-fledged member? Are there any means which make it possible to speed up this process, and what are they? What real ways are there to establish a favorable sociopolitical climate in the collective and is it possible to gage its influence on the people's production performance? The answers to all these questions can be supplied by the sociological service which has been set up, or is being set up, at many enterprises. Sociologists also have much to offer at rayon and sector level. In general, the point is to obtain a comprehensive and full picture of the social processes taking place in the mature socialist society not only from the viewpoint of the overall prospects of its development but also from the viewpoint of its functioning at any given moment, from the viewpoint of the interaction between the needs and interests of various social groups on the one hand, and social institutions on the other hand. This is what comprises the essence of the Leninist approach to the study of social relations which demands that "society be viewed as a living organism in its functions and development" (Complete Collected Works, Vol 1, p 192).

In recent years a number of branches of sociological science have developed in our country; sociology of labor, sociology of science, sociology of law, sociological research into the causes of migration and into the effectiveness of the mass media, each of which has a specific theoretical content and practical thrust connected with the study of specific questions in the management of one or another sphere of social relations. Thus, in the sphere of sociology of labor important results have been obtained which throw light on the natural laws governing the development of the motives governing the labor activity of workers in socialist enterprises. These motives include material interest, interest in the content of labor, relations in the collective, and, finally, awareness of the point of one's activity. In this system more complex motives form a superstructure, as it were, on top of less complex motives and ultimately they comprise the real basis for the balance between satisfaction and dissatisfaction with labor, which directly affects labor efficiency. An overall picture of the motivation of labor behavior not only widens the understanding of man's inner world but also helps to define more precisely the management tasks connected with the development of specific collectives. Disregarding any one of these motives results in

lower labor efficiency, weakened ties within the collective, and unjustifiable conflicts.

No less important are the research results in the sphere of the sociology of mass communications. Thus, it has been discovered, using a medium-sized city as an example, that the likelihood of information being assimilated does not depend only on the quality of this information and the level of education of the readers, listeners, and viewers, but also on the degree of their involvement in the creation and dissemination of this information. This leads to the conclusion: The impact of propaganda is largely determined by the degree to which people themselves take part in the propaganda and self-education process.

What all the branches of sociological knowledge have in common is the study of the working people's needs and interests, of the motives of their behavior which are manifested in people's actual deeds and in their mass conduct. It is precisely this aspect of the matter which explains the tremendous potential latent in the further development of Soviet sociological science. Making fuller use of this potential means ensuring more successfully that all major management decisions in socialist society are aimed at meeting the working people's needs and interests, and at ensuring that their motives for action develop in a way that combines social and personal interests.

The analysis of the social problems pertaining to labor activity and the effectiveness of the mass media confirms yet again the vital importance for our society's progress of the questions of enhancing the population's sociopolitical activity and political culture and improving the machinery of socialist democracy. The working man's involvement in the management of the collective and in the solution of questions pertaining to the development of the sector, region, or state is one of the main means of molding the new attitude to labor. At the same time, as research has shown, by no means all reserves for the working people's social activity existing in our social system's primary components--the labor collectives--are being duly utilized. New opportunities for this are provided by the Law on Labor Collectives and the Enhancement of Their Role in the Management of Enterprises, Institutions, and Organizations--the first such law in our state's history.

The decisions of the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum are a powerful impetus to the development of sociological science. One of the key directions of this work is the shift from separate and often unconnected public opinion polls to a systematic study of public opinion making possible scientific forecasts of the changes in and the dynamics of public opinion. Both fundamental research and ad hoc polls on specific events and measures make it possible to determine more accurately the degree to which posited [normativnoye] and actual awareness coincide and to adopt the most effective measures to overcome shortcomings and bottlenecks in organizational and ideological and educational work. In studying public opinion it must be taken into account that certain questions cannot, by their very nature, be interpreted unequivocally. For instance, what should be the priorities in developing municipal services in a given city or residential development

area; under the conditions of a given collective, what measures will prove most effective in reinforcing labor discipline and enhancing the standard of work; what should be the basic components of the people's education reform, and so forth?

At the same time it must be borne in mind that public opinion is constructive only when it is competent. The study and the molding of public opinion must be regarded in inextricable unison. That, in turn, presupposes working out the machinery for feed-back from control organs to public opinion and raising up a wide range of new tasks for ideological cadres.

In his foreword to "On the Critique of Political Economy" K. Marx wrote that "the material life production method determines the social, political, and spiritual processes of life in general (K. Marx and F. Engels, Works, Vol 13, p 7). This thesis forms the methodological basis of the relative independence of each one of the various spheres of social sciences. At the same time it points to the need for interaction between the social sciences so that an integral view of the whole system of social relations can be obtained.

Marxist sociology is at the junction of various spheres of scientific knowledge. Economic and law, social psychology and education, demography and statistics--none of these sciences can develop fruitfully now without a close alliance with sociology or without the factual data and methods provided by it. Take, for example, economic science, which is primarily the study of the means of producing society's material requirements and of the structure of production forces and the character of production relations. It is not restricted to that alone, however. Under conditions of mature socialism, when the link between economic and social policy is becoming stronger, economic science is beginning to study increasingly actively both the way in which man's material needs are woven into the fabric of social relations themselves and how they influence society's political culture and spiritual life. Restricting the problems of economic sciences merely to "their" traditional limits, which can sometimes be seen, leads to a loss of important incentives to the development of theoretical thought which is produced by mixed disciplines.

It is no secret that the search for the best ways of increasing production efficiency and improving work quality rests not only on insufficient economic knowledge as such but also on insufficient knowledge of social processes. After all, the key to the solution of these questions lies in the motivation of certain categories of working people--production organizers, planners, designers, and technologists who ensure the restructuring of production systems in accordance with the current state of scientific and technical thinking--to achieve higher work indicators and in the combination of their interests with the interests of other professional groups and of society as a whole. Consequently, the elaboration of problems of an economic character presumes a deeper understanding of social problems and the specific nature of social processes.

The same may be said in particular with regard to scientifically-based price fixing. Prices for goods and services must be determined not only on the basis of production and distribution costs, that is, of purely economic indicators, but also in the light of the degree of the distribution of the appropriate goods, their importance, availability and provision in complete sets, seasonal and territorial changes in demand, fluctuations in fashion and the laws governing its movement. In brief, in primarily the light of the interests of people and society as a whole. To ignore this--social--aspect of matters gives rise to the so-called black economy--a system of the exchange of services uncontrolled by society which corrupts the principles of socialist distribution and the socialist organizations of production and circulation.

Modern economic thinking and a high standard of economic management and administration are impossible without taking account of the social consequences of decisions that are being taken. Sociologists can also contribute more actively to this. The work experience of the Volga Truck Plant, the Kama Truck Plant, agroindustrial complexes in the Moldavian SSR and the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee's center for the study, shaping, and forecasting of public opinion convincingly shows that the implementation of sociologists' well-founded recommendations not only provides a vast saving of material resources but also improves the standard of work and management and helps to consolidate the norms of the socialist way of life. Evidence of this is also provided by the experience of a number of socialist countries.

The effectiveness of sociological research depends greatly on the professional contact between the scientific collective and management organs. It begins, as a rule, with setting tasks for the researcher and with a clear description of the problems facing the "customer." The very posing of the task requires from him a high level of sociological knowledge and the ability to make use of statistical data and to see the various trends of social development. The scientific collective then formulates the method of research, gathers the initial information, analyzes and generalizes it, and suggests various solutions--recommendations which predict the social consequences of a particular choice. Such, in general terms, is the scheme of applied sociological research which may vary, of course, depending on specific conditions and circumstances, including, of course, the level of professional training of the scientific collective itself.

The All-Union report and election conference (February 1983) of the Soviet sociological association which has nearly 8,000 individual and about 1,000 collective members, justly noted that the training of professional sociologists is the main internal problem of the development of Soviet sociological science. Unfortunately, the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education still has not settled the question of the introduction of sociology as a special subject at university philosophy and economics departments and has not determined the range of knowledge, abilities, and skills that sociology students should acquire. The few sociological research departments at work in the country are incapable of providing either an adequate number of specialists in this sphere, where demand is increasing objectively, or the requisite standard of their training. And this cannot fail to reflect on the quality

of research or on the validity of practical recommendations. A rather strange picture is emerging: there are doctors and candidates of philosophical and economic sciences whose special subject of "sociology" (this special subject has been approved by the USSR Council of Ministers Higher Certification Commission), but it is virtually impossible to obtain a basic sociological education because of the lack of such a special subject in the higher education system. Nor do a program or any academic plans exist and there is an acute shortage of textbooks and teachers.

An important precondition for the further development of sociology is to broaden and improve statistical publications and comparative studies and to study social statistics. It is doubtful whether the important changes in social life and social consciousness could be fully understood without valid information about the structure and sources of the population's incomes, the machinery of the processes of redistribution, and the living conditions of representatives of different social and professional groups.

The question of the status of sociological services at enterprises, associations, ministries, and departments also needs to be resolved. In some instances sociological groups are created within the framework of scientific labor organization teams, others are created under cadres' sections, and other under labor and wages sections. It would be beneficial to strengthen the professional status of sociologists.

The CPSU Central Committee June Plenum criticized impartially the work of the USSR Academy of Sciences sociological research center--the leading sociological institution. The center's posing and study of major social problems which ensure the deepening of scientific ideas about the most important objective features of the economic, socio-political, and spiritual progress of socialist society have been overshadowed by trivial subject matter and restriction within narrow "dissertational" and group interests. I think that the criticism voiced at the plenum will have a beneficial effect on the further development of our sociological science. The tasks now facing it require an increased sense of responsibility from each sociologist. Party-mindedness, a mastery of Marxist-Leninist methodology and of the specific methods of the research of social phenomena, and depth, comprehensiveness, and objectivity in analysing data--such are the obligatory qualities of representatives of this important sphere of Soviet social science.

Sociological knowledge, interwoven with practical work, should help to explain what has been achieved in greater depth and to outline the long term prospect. Oriented not only toward a study of the positive trends but also toward a constant analysis of negative phenomena which are now hampering progress, they are a necessary component of the genuinely scientific ideas about society. Our sociological science possesses great potential. It is important the full use be made of it.

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NATIONAL

KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA READERS CONCERNED BY 'GROWTH' OF BAPTIST INFLUENCE

PM050931 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 16 Sep 83 p 2

[Article under the "Authoritative Opinion" rubric comprising replies to readers' questions by E.G. Filimonov, deputy director of the Institute of Scientific Atheism, and G.S. Lilina, YU.B. Pishchik, R.A. Lopatkin, and G.A. Solovyeva, scientific staffers of the same institute: "Convictions From an Early Age"]

[Text] [Question] What do the results of sociological research into the religious beliefs of different categories of young people indicate? (V. Mukhamedyarov, Chita)

[Answer] The results obtained indicate that the number of young people in the overall mass of religious people is insignificant: on average, 8-10 percent of the total number of believers. Young people are more susceptible to religious influence in those parts of the country which joined the Soviet Union later than the rest. It has been noted that the percentage of young people among members of religious sects is somewhat higher than the percentage among representatives of the other faiths.

[Question] Are religious sentiments not increasing among a certain section of our young people? Yet among the sectarian communities there are young people with secondary education. (P. Boyko, Kharkov oblast)

[Answer] The view that religious beliefs are increasing among young people in our country is unfounded. This is not only demonstrated by sociological research data. The unpopularity of religion among young people is even acknowledged by clergymen.

At the same time, increased interest has been observed among a section of young people regarding the history of religion and the church and their role in the history of the people's social and cultural life, historical monuments of religious origin, church art, and so forth. This interest is by no means a manifestation of a "religious revival" or a growth in religious beliefs and is conditioned by a number of perfectly natural factors.

The improved educational and cultural standards of contemporary young people lead logically to a desire for a better knowledge of the history of their

own people and other peoples. A knowledge of history is an unfailing indicator of a person's culture. An interest in the history of religion and the church among some young people with an unformed world outlook and an imprecise ideological stance can sometimes lead to glorification of the church's role in our country's history and to an overrating of the significance of religious art.

The fact of a certain interest in the history of religion should not lead to the conclusion that religious sentiments are on the increase.

[Question] If young believers do exist, there must clearly be definite reasons for their religiousness. What attracts young believers to religion; is it "communion with the spiritual heights," a belief in a "higher idea" and a "higher justice," or is it the effect of active influence on the young persons's immature world outlook and mind on the part of churchmen and sectarians? (I. Martynov, Tula)

[Answer] The reason for the religiousness of the bulk of young believers is religious education. It is well known that many sectarians view the family as the "church in the home." From childhood, a child absorbs religious images, beliefs, and experiences, almost with his mother's milk, so to speak. Religious parents, particularly fanatics, try to protect their children from the influence of nonbelievers and from reading "secular literature": scientific and artistic literature let alone atheist literature. They prohibit their children from going to the movies or the theater and from joining the young pioneers or the komsomol.

Sometimes young people come to religion though they did not previously believe in God. This is the result of a lack of firm convictions and of philosophical infantilism. That is what happens when a young person enters a religious environment and, being ideologically immature, acquires an idealized picture of religion as having the ability to free man of moral flaws, especially since religious mentors set their ideas in opposition to the "godless," identify the atheist stance with vulgar materialism in general and consequently their impotence in the struggle for the ideals of good and justice.

[Question] I am concerned by the activeness of religious sectarianism in certain parts of the country. With what is it linked? (Yu. Dobrovolskaya, Lvov)

[Answer] It should be stressed above all that sectarianism, like other religions, is undergoing an "emancipation," and doubt regarding the religious dogmas on the immortality of the soul, the afterlife, and even the existence of God himself is increasing. Indicative in this respect is the acknowledgment by a baptist minister that the prayer "I believe, Lord, help thou mine unbelief..." is current among his flock.

Crisis phenomena manifest themselves differently in different sectarian currents. Some, and these include the so-called old Russian sects--the believers in Christ ("Khlysty"), the Dukhobors, and the Molokans--now have a negligible

number of followers. Others--the Baptists, for example--are marked by a comparatively high degree of activeness.

This is explained by the historically conditioned features of their doctrine and of the organization of their religion. Baptism is a Protestant organization which conducts vigorous missionary activity, uses well-rehearsed and versatile methods of suggestion and persuasion, and employs educated and well trained preachers for work among various strata of the population, particularly with young people.

As church leaders themselves admit, quite a few communities are at present losing their followers, are splitting up, and are going out of existence.

CSO: 1800/62

NATIONAL

LACK OF 'CREATIVE INVOLVEMENT' IN FILM MAKING CITED

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Sep 83 p 3

[Article by L. Kulidzhanov, first secretary, USSR Cinematographers' Union Board: "Contemporary Screen--Ideology and Craft"]

[Text] Lenin must have possessed truly prophetic revolutionary genius, for back in 1907, when he encountered the cinema which at that time was little more than a surface attraction he predicted: when the masses are in control of the cinema; when it will be in the hands of the actual leaders of socialist culture, then it will be one of the most powerful means of educating the masses.

The people of our country now have cinematic art, which is created by the masters of socialist culture; its importance in the ideological, moral and esthetic training as well as the education of the people cannot be emphasized too strongly. The screens today are lit up everyday, and not just in every city and village, but in almost every home. If the millions and millions of viewers who watch movies on television are added to those assembled in theatres every year, it then becomes clear that the ideological and artistic level of films released by all film studios of the country has become a factor of no little importance, upon which depends to a great extent the political, moral and spiritual climate of our society, especially its young people.

The history of our cinematic art is a living manuscript of national achievements in the revolutionary transformation of the life and structure of the new society. The arduous but glorious path of our nation from the first pre-October stormy days to today's communist-inspired life can be traced through the best Soviet films: "Armadillo", "Potemkin", "The Land", "Mother", "Chapayev", the trilogy about Maksim, military film collections of a military flier, "Rainbow", "Raykom Secretary", "The Young Guard", "Ballad of a Soldier", "Fate of a Man", "Communist", "Chairman", "Freedom", "The Prize", "The Great Patriotic War", "The Taste of Bread", "The Interrogation", "Your Son, the Land"....I am citing as examples just a few from the multitude of pictures worthy enough to make up this list.

The Soviet cinema is a multinational one. Its diversity is fused with the unity of the Marxist-Leninist philosophy of the artists and with the development in the channel of socialist realism in which each national cinematographer keeps his own special characteristics.

A phenomenon such as this is unknown in all other countries of the world. And this seems to be the remarkable prototype of future cinematography of the whole planet, when it will be free from capitalist methods everywhere, and all peoples of the world will be free to develop their national culture.

Materials from the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the thorough discussion of questions of ideological, mass political party work have brought a new intensity to the attention focused on the cinematographers' contribution to the public welfare. I had the honor of being a participant at this party forum. The conditions surrounding it left an unforgettable impression; they were extraordinarily serious, demanding and at the same time exceptionally benevolent toward workers in the fields of science, culture, literature and the arts. The decisions of the Plenum and the speech given there by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Comrade Yu. V. Andropov filled each of us with a feeling of heightened responsibility to approach an evaluation of our work, our opportunities, and to think more profoundly about how we are doing our jobs. These days, under the powerful influence of the new party decisions, an operation is in progress in all links and subunits of our film business: in our creative union, our motion picture studios, in our photographic collectives, in our chief groups which have been sent to all ends of the country to meet with viewers and report to them on what has been done while listening to their opinions and requests.

Our audience is an exceptionally active one, and on the whole does not consider film as an idle past time but as a truly vital spiritual food. The increasing role of art in the society of mature socialism was clearly formulated at the plenum: "We all see how the influence of art on the minds of the people becomes stronger as the cultural level of the nation grows. In the same way opportunities for it to intervene actively in public life will also grow. And this means that the responsibility of leading art figures will increase to a enormous extent, so that the powerful weapon that is in their hands might serve the cause of the people, the cause of communism."

Right now in our cinematic art a complicated and important process of general advancement of young talents is occurring, a process that has been hastened by the famous decree of the CPSU Central Committee on work with creative youth. A generation shift is practically going on, and it cannot occur, as they say, without a hitch. Some problems have arisen here which demand considerable efforts for their proper solution, on the part of our creative union as well as that of the administrative management of the cinematographers and the studios where the daily work of new film production takes place.

There is much that is reassuring and gratifying in the work of our youth. They have created a number of the best pictures of recent years, productions that touch upon the acute problems in the modern development of socialist society. By these films they have convincingly shown themselves to be talented, unique and promising. At the same time we must not become too complacent--far

from all of the young people have shown themselves to be ideologically mature artists, activists from a civic standpoint. Films have been released that are marked with the stamp of infantilism, and passion for formalistic, purely esthetic issues. Among the novices there are some conceited people who are incapable of correctly evaluating their capabilities. Setting out on the way to independence is the great and difficult examination for the talented person--an examination for the right to bear the lofty title artists of socialist cinematography. The advancement of young people is not always approached at the studios with the required high standards, causing many of them to feel that to receive the title of director and the right to take part in staging a production is not such a difficult thing. The cinematographers must always keep their work with young people at the center of their attention, considering this one of their most important problems. The solution to this problem will have an effect on how the films of tomorrow will be presented on our screen and how popular life will be reflected in them.

I want to mention here in the interests of fairness, that certain of the shortcomings manifested from time to time in the creative work of young people can also be encountered in the work of individual representatives of the older generation, those who are more experienced and skilled. We should and we will have a talk with these colleagues of ours.

I will dwell on only one example. The passion of certain cinematographers for "realism" [bytovizm] was correctly noted at the Central Committee Plenum. We do not always have a clear understanding of the meaning of this word. The concept of realism as a certain creative trend should be differentiated from the simple concept of life. For example, the extremely civic-minded passionate party film "Chapayev" very accurately depicts isolated aspects of life during the period of the Civil War. It indicated carefully and in detail the environment in which the action occurred and the characters lived. But this life is the expression of a time, an era, its unique marks. Guided by these the film attains high social, political and moral generalizations. There can be no objection to such an approach to life. But it is quite another matter when the screen depicts trivial messes, and heroes wallow in the little nothings of life, from which, of course, nothing is or can be generated.

There is another side of the question, when the screen writers and directors do not know how to look at a great problem or complicated social collisions with the required ideological high-mindedness in approaching it from a truly artistic point of view, and the important theme comes to naught with a hackneyed, sketchy and simply wretched resolution. Dull and lifeless films, upon which sometimes no small amount of creative energy and significant economic amounts have been expended, do not have the right to exist on our screens.

We are aware today as never before of the need to further expand our cinema's theme and genre scope. We cannot be lulled by the undoubted successes and achievements in this area. The party gives us the remarkable example of the brave innovative staging of vital problems in the development of Soviet society, and our films should aid in their resolution. The screen art's noble mission is to promote training in the new morality, to formulate and

raise the spiritual standards of man, to charge him with creative energy and with an uncompromising spirit toward everything preventing our overall progress toward everything preventing our overall progress toward our stated goals. In this plan the task with first priority is the creation of types of real heroes of our time, people who are ideologically assured, goal-oriented, capable of courageous thinking and, in the party manner, of decisively coming to a decision and acting upon it.

The exacerbation in the struggle between two social systems and their diametrically opposed philosophies also demands more definite creative participation in the struggle from us as cinematographers. We need new graphic films, recreational as well as documentary, dedicated to the tireless activity of the party and the entire nation in defense of the world, against the imperialists' atomic madness.

In recent years our leading cinema figures and critics have written serious books, studies, and articles in which they analyzed the best Soviet film productions in depth and from every angle, along with trends in their development. It must, however, be confessed that criticism is not being done at its full capacity. It does not always profoundly and sensitively analyze the new and promising and sometimes passes over weak, professionally immature and carelessly done productions.

The Soviet film industry long ago became the truly innovative art model for progressive film makers of the world, gaining fame as the discoverers of the new revolutionary hero. The growing interest attracted by our film industry was clearly shown also during the recent 13th Moscow International Film Festival. Foreign cinematographers see in their Soviet colleagues artists who stand opposed by virtue of the very spirit of their creativity to bourgeois decadent art, poisoned by ideas of militarism, spiritual crisis and apocalyptic hopelessness. It was no accident that such an important American film producer as Stanley Kramer came to Moscow. It was right in the Soviet capital that he felt it necessary to turn to cinematographers of the world with a call to come out decisively against nuclear war preparations and to create new films which would help millions and millions of people to recognize the growing threat and join the ranks of warriors against irresponsible politicians who are pushing mankind into the nuclear bonfire.

The traditional discussion that took place within the framework of the festival was permeated with a profound concern for the fate of the world. Italian author Alberto Moravia, Spanish director Juan Antonio Bardem, a professor from the Czechoslovak Soviet Socialist Republic, prominent representatives of young cinematographers from the African continent Ben Barka and Plen Viyeyra and other speakers all spoke of the lofty mission of the peace efforts of the cinema, and of the responsibility of masters of the screen for the future of man. Participants in the festival met with warm approval the appeal contained in the welcoming remarks of Yu. V. Andropov: "Let the voices of the cinematographers ring out on all continents in the name of the triumph of truth, goodness, social justice, faith and peace between nations."

In discussing creative problems, discussion invariably centered around the fact that in addition to direction, a particular concern for the effectiveness of film is important in our work. And effectiveness is not generated merely in a burst of inspiration, in the creative search of the director, screenwriter, actor, cameraman or artist. The problems of cinematic art require a comprehensive approach, an improvement in operations at all of its levels, in all components of the birth of a film.

Cinema is not just art--it is also industry. As in other industrial domains, discipline and order and a high degree of organization must prevail; at this time the party and the people are struggling to make sure of this.

I must not neglect to speak of such problems in our business as a shortage of film. The film that we are receiving is far below worldwide standards and sometimes keeps our pictures from broader distribution on foreign screens. There are not enough movie theaters being built, which deprives a portion of the audience of the opportunity to enjoy a new film under good conditions while it is still current. It is apparent that certain building organizations and soviet and party agencies in some places underestimate the truly vital demands of the Soviet people to have a modern, well-equipped movie theater in every city and every major settlement.

The decisions of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum were adopted by the entire team of Soviet cinematographers as a mandate from on high and wise guiding principle for future productive activity in all sectors of the vast cinematographic economy. They give rise to creative energy, which should be realized in films, passionately, enthusiastically and in talented fashion continuing the best pages of the cinematic manuscript of our life.

12262

CSO: 1800/6

NATIONAL

SOVIET SCHOLAR ON PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE

[Editorial Report] PM181801 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 September 1982 first edition carries on page 3 an item entitled "Outlaw 'Psychological Warfare'" and published under the rubric "The Reader Inquires." It comprises doctor of historical sciences Yu.V. Kashlev's replies to readers' questions about psychological warfare. Kashlev discusses the origin of the term and the development of the phenomenon. He then emphasizes President Reagan's use of it to "spread insinuations" about the socialist countries, saying that "attempts to interfere in other people's internal affairs have always been an essential characteristic" of psychological warfare. Kashlev discusses the role of "subversive" radio stations and "turncoats" and then introduces the KAL Airliner incident, saying that Washington saw it as an opportunity to "fuel international tension" and raise psychological warfare against the Soviet Union to "fever pitch."

CSO: 1800/50

NATIONAL

BRIEFS

BREZHNEV VOLUME PUBLISHED--Moscow VOPROSY ISTORRI KPSS No 9 signed to press 31 August 1983 carries on the inside front cover a listing of "new books and brochures in the history of the CPSU and the international Communist and Workers Movement" which includes the following entry: "Brezhnev L.I. 'Following Lenin's Course. Speeches, greetings, messages, reminiscences.' Volume 9, Second Expanded Edition. Moscow, Political Literature Publishing House. 1983--751 pages." [PM061628 Editorial Report] [COPYRIGHT: Izdatel'stvo "Pravda", "Voprosy istorii KPSS", 1983.]

CSO: 1800/72

REGIONAL

STATE RECORDING STUDIOS SELL IDEOLOGICALLY HARMFUL CASSETTES

Moscow SOVETSKAYA KUL'TURA in Russian 6 Aug 83 p 3

[Article by I. Verdiyan: "Musical 'Beatles.' Rummaging Round the Studios for Recordings"]

[Excerpts] The loudspeakers carried the voice that was sodden from singing at innumerable weddings and funerals throughout the neighborhood. The voice was singing a popular children's song about "Tanya weeping loudly because her ball had fallen in the stream," with some words altered, and then comes Khachik and "fetches the ball from the stream."

Having consoled the girl, the voice sang something more lively but just as banal. This time it was attracted by the fate of a lady-killer whom "they sent off to a kolkhos and made the waitress's eyes puffy from crying." And right after the lady-killer, the voice was singing the praises of a certain Uncle Borya who stubbornly refused to close his trouser fly...

And all this was on the streets of Yerevan...

Where did these cheap back alley sentiments come from? How are the composers and performers of these extremely questionable subjects popularized?

Do not be surprised. They are made by several dozen recording studios operating in the cities and rayons centers of the republic. When these studios opened up they were pursuing a fine goal: to satisfy demand for magnetic cassettes with recordings of popular songs, folk songs and variety songs performed by well-known singers and musicians. But, alas! the goal was reached and the track, or rather the sound track, led, as they say, somewhere else.

If you respond to the unusual musical call, you find that the studios belong to various organizations: the republic Ministry of Consumer Services, the administration for culture and the management of city enterprises, and various trade organizations. There are so many of them wanting to charm the ear with sound, to make copies not only of the eternal and the beautiful but also the most banal offerings.

How are we to explain the attachment for tape recordings by such a varied range of establishments? Let us say it directly: it is a most profitable business: the studios are fulfilling and overfulfilling their plans. But how is this profit derived? what are the products being offered to the studios' clients?

In a few studios they were able to offer me a list of the musical works being recorded and sold; they included songs and compositions put out by the "Melodiya" firm. It is possible to find high quality productions by Soviet and foreign pop groups. As they say, a galaxy of stars, and the broadest range of musical tastes.

But here on the counter there are cassettes with names unknown to the musical world. What, for example, do the names Kuku, Boka, Valod, Arut and Zhora mean to you? Who are they? Soloists. From the Armenian state television and radio? The Armenian concert organization? Certainly not!

The "fast-selling item" has been created in home studios by semiprofessional singers, and also by simply smart musical "Beatles" performing surrogate songs that are inferior and sometimes, to put it mildly, unprintable.

The music salon of the city cultural administration is located in the underground passageway beneath "Druzhba" Square. Visitors are served by smart young people. With skillful movements they palce the cassettes in the recorders. In an instant hysterical howls are relieving the pangs of unrequited love. In an instant the jabbering, unintelligible squealing of a female voice can be heard, and now the above-mentioned Boka dashingly leads off a ditty about times far off with couplets about lemons, little Mary and other ideals of the Philistines in the drinking houses.

Advertising and sales of these recordings (in Armenia they are for some reason called "workart" which is a contraction of "worker of art") are a business that is not without harm. It is young people, schoolchildren and working youth who are primarily seized upon by the tenacious tentacles of bad taste and banality. The barren flowers of song are flourishing in splendor at parties and weddings. Tape recorders installed in private cars accompany the driver and his fellow travelers everywhere, extending the geographical range of the musical fakers.

In the pursuit of business they often forget the ideological and artistic and aesthetic requirements made of recordings of musical works, and they close their eyes to the stream of questionable and harmful offerings. Lack of control is leading to a situation in which in Tashkent, for example, the recording experts frequently pick up their repertoires according to their own taste, seeking out the most up-to-date disks, from their viewpoint. This also happens in Georgia and Azerbaijan and some of the oblast centers in the RSFSR. And so it is that he who pays the piper calls the tune--any tune. And the operators willingly go along with them, thinking only of "business" and the takings.

Sometimes, considerations that are far from unselfish lie behind the commercial approach. Thus, for example, workers from one of the recording studios in Novosibirsk have been censured for private dealings. And recently a people's court in Sovetskiy rayon, Yerevan, sentenced the former director of the Kanakerskiy

House of Culture No 5, M. Demiryan, and his subordinate operator in the recording studio, M. Martirosyan, to terms of imprisonment; this was for bribery, theft, private business dealings and abuse of their official positions.

"There is a great deal of trouble with these studios," sighs the chief of the RSFSR Ministry of Consumer Services Administration for Nonproduction Everyday Services, M. Shatskiy. "Equipment is mainly homemade. Previously there were operators in our studios who were using their own equipment and receiving depreciation payments. They, as it were, dictated their terms to us: it is my equipment, they would say, and I shall record what I like. Now the situation has been corrected. But the studio equipment is still far from perfect technically, and recordings do not always meet the requirements. There are shortages of cassettes, film and tape. The dodgers take advantage of this."

"The studio administration must be centralized," my interlocutor continued. "They have too many bosses--the trade organizations, the cultural administrations, the tourist offices... This, of course, creates many complications. It is very important to be attentive to the repertoire. We are acting in this matter with the republic Ministry of Culture. But, it must be confessed, musical hack work and personal taste are still rife in the studios."

S. Meliksetyan, chief of the Yerevan city soviet of working people's deputies cultural administration, also makes no attempt to hide his alarm. He proposes that strict public control be established over the activities of the studios and that effective administrative steps be taken.

But the problems will not be solved just by imposing bans. The comprehensive approach is needed here. We recall a conversation with USSR People's Artist E. Mirzoyan, chairman of the republic Union of Composers board. He drew attention to the fact that many composers are also guilty of sustaining the poor musical tone. The lagging in the genre of mass, civic lyrical songs is promoting the rapid appearance of this pseudomusic.

We need good songs. And the sooner the better in order to cut off the access of the anonymous "Kuka's" and "Zhora's" to the listener. The studios must offer the consumer some new things, quickly and on a current basis. But in any event, everything that is recorded and sold should be confirmed by the appropriate repertoire collegium.

What is the opinion of the Armenain SSR Ministry of Culture on this score?

"The work of the studios must be under strict artistic control," the minister G. Arakelyan thinks. "A branch of the 'Melodiya' firm will soon be coming into the republic, and it is hoped that it will create conditions for satisfying demand for cassettes and records. I think that the question of shortages in musical productions in a number of genres will be positively resolved."

The Armenian concert organization, of course, should oppose this evil musical "business" in the most decisive way. It is essential to propagandize Soviet songs and the real folklore heritage, accompanying artistes' performances with lectures and conversations about the artistic bankruptcy of and the harm done by "workart."

It is impossible to fail to notice the alarming phenomena that are doing harm to the cause of educating the new man.

From the Editor.

Many recording studios have opened up in recent years. According to figures issued by the RSFSR Ministry of Consumer Services Main Administration for Nonproduction Services, within the krais, oblast and cities of the the RSFSR alone there are more than 200 studios whose work volume is worth R10 million annually. They offer consumers recordings of ceremonies (weddings, child-naming ceremonies and so forth), taped letters, musical works. The RSFSR and union republic ministries of consumer services, in whose administrations most of the sound-recording studios are located, have recently adopted important standards documentation that has helped to bring order to these activities.

However, signals from the local level indicate that some studios are making recordings of poor quality, artistically worthless musical works that are not included in the normal repertoire. The organs of culture and the composers' organizations sometimes remain aloof from control over the studios' activities and do not participate in the selection and confirmation of their repertoires. Has the time not come for all interested administrations and creative organizations to hold a "roundtable" meeting to discuss the range of questions connected with improving the activities of the recording studios?

Many studios have poor and sometimes simply homemade equipment that does not meet the standards, and as a consequence is not subject to checks. Some operators are using their own equipment, which gives them an opportunity to copy recordings of questionable and what is more, even ideologically harmful content and foist them on purchasers. There are acute shortages of compact cassettes, films and tapes. In our opinion, the USSR Gosbank should become involved in questions of strengthening the technical base of the recording studios.

The CPSU Central Committee June (1983) Plenum stressed the need for improving leadership in the development of all spheres of the spiritual life of society. The activities of the local recording studios should not remain outside the field of vision of party committees.

9642

CSO: 1830/428

REGIONAL

EVIDENCE OF CULTURAL DEPRIVATION IN SIBERIA CITED

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 Sep 83 p 1

[Article by Aleksandr Shchegolev, correspondent from Krasnoyarskiy kray in Tuvinskaya ASSR: "Sobkor's Point of View--High-Quality Culture for Siberia"]

[Text] Early last summer writer Viktor Petrovich Astaf'yev spent the last class of the school year with senior high school students in his native village of Ovsyanka. He did not go to school in order to convey official parting words, but simply to read poems and share thoughts about the great mystery of literature. He openly spoke with the kids about the happiness he feels every time he comes in contact with spiritual values. He shared his unhappiness with current disregard for books which, the high literacy level notwithstanding, has become stylish in perception of many people. He confessed: "Perhaps the wonder of books is still alive for me because in my childhood they were not readily available to me. Now I will stop sometimes in front of a bookshelf and think: God, I can just reach with my hand and have Dostoyevskiy, Tolstoy, or Gogol--all I have to do is open the book and read. Unfortunately, this wonderful opportunity is not popularly appreciated, just as bread is not appreciated by those who have enough to eat."

He is so right! It is precisely thirst for spiritual values that we often lack today since we are less inclined to go to the library or the concert hall. This ineradicable thirst for fulfillment of people's highest needs should be instilled in them from their youngest years. It has always been the party's stand that we do not live in order to accumulate material wealth, but rather that material wealth should be used for the multi-dimensional development of a person. After all, when things, books, and records are acquired only for prestige, they do not fulfill any of the owner's needs except his bourgeois vanity--I've got it! However, the process of providing access to great culture requires much moral effort and continued growth of knowledge.

This is felt very strongly in Siberia which has become a springboard for largest construction projects in our country. At one of the sites we got to talk to young women living in a youth dormitory. They came from Lipetsk, I think, and they counted months and almost days till the end of their contract. "We do not like it here in Siberia, and that is it," they kept saying. "People here have no culture. Young men are rude. They swear and

drink vodka. We spend all our free time in the dormitory. There is no place to go. It is different at home."--"Wait a minute," I wondered, "After all there are very few native Siberians here. Most of people here are like you--they came from someplace else. Much depends on you."--"It does not matter, we just do not like it here." Eventually it became clear that the young women knew little about the land where they came to build and live. It was as if in the monotony of their everyday life and sighs for their home they were discharging their duty here instead of leading a full life. But, of course, their inertia, alienation, and indifference are not their exclusive problem and fault. An entirely different atmosphere is created in places where newcomers are given full attention.

For example, ZNAMYA KOMMUNIZMA, Angar city newspaper, has made its pages available for many years to club "Siberia" on a monthly basis. One may ask why would a city newspaper publish materials from all corners of Siberia and tell about its history, accomplishments, and future development. But journalists are sure that this is necessary. After all, inhabitants of the young city still know little about this land. Whether or not they put down their roots here depends on how close and understandable will this unknown place become to them. KRASNOYARSKIY RABOCHIY is also trying to help newcomers adjust. It published a series of feature stories under the heading "Yenisey Meridian."

Here is another example. A train with construction-installation crew of Georgian volunteers headed by Anzor Varlamovich Dvalishvili continued on the BAM [Baykal-Amur Main Line] line. They are now building a new station on the line's Chita section. But at the line's Irkutsk section a little corner of Georgian culture was left behind: Niya station. Exquisitely done details and carved doors and interiors in stores and the cafe show that builders gave their all so that newcomers to this uninhabited land would remember them with a kind word. Every BAM station is a calling card of one of our country's republics, kray, or oblast. Their construction is a good example of the region's social and cultural assimilation.

Almost two and a half years ago Krasnoyarsk residents initiated a movement they called: "We will turn Siberia into the land of high culture!" Why was such a slogan born here, in Siberia? Because all the best that has been accumulated in the experience of social construction in the country is reflected with great clarity here. Obstacles on the way forward can be clearly seen as well since much still needs to be done.

The movement's initiators and their followers in Siberia oblasts have had much success in establishing the sociocultural complex. During the last few years construction of new palaces of culture, clubs, museums, libraries, and institutes for culture research was initiated. Krasnoyarsk itself became Russia's largest cultural center. A new opera and ballet theater appeared there, as well as resident symphony orchestra that performs at the city philharmonic hall and the world-famous Siberian Dance Company headed by Michail Godenko, USSR people's artist. But Krasnoyarsk is not the only city that contributed to Siberia region's cultural development. Folk choral

tradition is continued by the Omsk choir. The wonderful tradition of musical festivals has been firmly established in Kemerov. An influential writers' organization was formed in Irkutsk. In short, the whole huge territory is being saturated with spiritual riches and artistic examples are being created that today attract the widest public attention. Contacts are being established with the country's leading artistic collectives. Siberia, and especially Krasnoyarskiy kray are more and more often the site for all-Russian and all-Union events.

Of course Siberia's cultural development and its spiritual potential should go hand in hand with its production capacity development, as stated in the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum materials. Cultural development should not be any slower than production capacity development, it should actually be a little faster. This task can be accomplished by an army of specialists, but there is still far not enough of them. They are usually available in oblast and kray centers, but there is a serious shortage of them in remote areas where constructions take place. Those are the very areas that are often also referred to as the Five-Year plan's front line. Sharypovo, a young city in Krasnoyarskiy kray, is called today the KATEK [Kuybishev Automobile and Tractor Electrical Equipment and Carburetor Plant] capital. During the last few years its population grew five times larger. Here come volunteers from many parts of the country to build largest power stations using local coals. However, the cultural material base has remained the same for the last 30 years. The country's Minugleprom and Minenergo developed gigantic construction projects, but they have not paid any attention to building cultural and service facilities. In the city of young people there are no facilities that could house a library or where a concert company could be invited. All cultural and educational activities take place in reading and recreation rooms, which are very inadequate for this purpose.

The Minneftekhimprom's attitude concerning construction of a palace of culture in Achinsk that would have 700 seats is not any better. The construction of a similar palace in Minusinsk, a growing center of Siberia's electrotechnological industry, has also been delayed. Young people at construction sites of major importance to the country are not being spoiled by the attention of best comedy, stage, and music masters. Many programs give the impression of being prepared hurriedly, and well-known performers are often replaced by "understudies." This is especially insulting to the viewer by implying that this is periphery so it is all right to do this.

Here is a recent example. Krasnoyarsk philharmony, which signed a contract with Moscow oblast philharmony for artistic collaboration, made big plans for a new Siberia Musical Summer festival. According to the plans, a popular group headed by O. Melik-Pashayev was to participate in the festival. The festival was to open on 13 August, but the day before the message came from Moscow that the requested vocal-instrumental company will not be able to appear at the festival because its program has not been sufficiently rehearsed. And how surprised the Siberians were when they learned that during the time of the festival the company successfully performed in Orel and then gave concerts in the Hermitage! "How could this have happened?", wondered viewers of Krasnoyarsk, Norilsk, Achinsk, Chernogorsk, Minusinsk, other

Krasnoyarsk cities. "The program was not good enough for us, but it was good enough for viewers in Russia's cultural centers?" This question is directed by Siberians especially to the Moscow oblast philharmonic management which did not fulfill its contractual obligations.

Almost 1 century ago Siviers, a traveller who had visited Irkutsk, wrote: "You may ask what theater is like in such a remote place. Yes, you are absolutely right to wonder, and you may be even more surprised to hear that the actors are local people who have never seen theater themselves. In spite of this their performance was skillful and the music was quite good as well." Today any Siberian city is connected to the country's famous cultural centers by modern airlines. And the wish of persons employed in the field of culture in Siberia not to stew only in their own juice but to receive active help from masters in the field is understandable. At present contracts are being negotiated that will make it possible for companies based in capital cities to collaborate with those from remote areas. Visits of well-known stage and other performers have become common. However, all this is not enough. Examples of a major director staging a show on a local stage or a well-known actor performing in such a show are still very rare.

Initiators of the movement "We will turn Siberia into the land of high culture!" see this movement as having a wide scope, ranging from increased production culture to higher everyday behavior culture. A special role is assigned to the army of persons employed in cultural and educational projects and top craftsmen and activists in the artistic fields. After all, when we erect new cities, plants, and factories, we also build new relationships and shape the man of the communist tomorrow.

9959

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REGIONAL

GEORGIAN MINISTER OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS ADMITS SHORTCOMINGS, ANNOUNCES DISMISSALS

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 14 Sep 83 p 2

[Article by Guram Gvetadze, minister of internal affairs of Georgian SSR:
"Lofty Title of Militia Worker"]

[Text] The June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee defined the key tasks that the party and the Soviet people face at the modern stage of communist building and worked out a strategic route for perfecting developed socialism and the improvement of ideological and mass-political work.

The decisions of the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the 24th Plenum of the Georgian CP Central Committee have special meaning for the communists of the system of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the republic and for all workers of militia bodies. In the light of the evaluations and directives of the party, the bodies of the internal affairs are called on to more actively assist in the upbringing of the highly conscious and law abiding members of society and to strictly observe the laws that guard the interests of society and the rights of citizens. Without this, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov emphasized in his speech at the June Plenum, the normal process of our social development is unthinkable.

In the course of several years, extensive work to overcome such antisocial phenomena as hooliganism, drunkenness, theft, profiteering, parasitism, embezzlement of socialist property, bribery, etc. has been carried out in the republic; that is, of those factors for which, without elimination, it is unthinkable to discuss the upbringing and formation of a new man. In order to eliminate these, not only are constant propaganda efforts and measures of economic and organizational character necessary, but also of law and order, among the basic proponents of which are the bodies of internal affairs. The tasks of bringing up citizens in the spirit of unbending observance to legal discipline and law enforcement demand, from the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the republic and all of its bodies and organizations and subdivisions, a constant perfecting of activities and an increase in its effectiveness from year to year; and in some necessary cases, a fundamental reconstruction.

The MVD (Ministry of Internal Affairs) of the Georgian SSR has initiated a number of serious steps towards changing the style of administration of the subordinate bodies and towards the perfecting of their activities in the current year, in light of the decisions of the November (1982) and June (1983) Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, the decisions of the collegium of MVD USSR, and the orders and directives of the All-Union Ministry. From the agenda of the collegium and the administration of MVD, the questions of continued improvement of the quality of work in the widest understanding of the term, the rational utilization of working time and increased labor productivity, its effectiveness and the enforcement of discipline among personnel, are never removed. Planning activity has been improved; it is becoming more definite and considers better the new demands that, in turn, facilitates the fulfillment of plans and other normative documents, and raises the responsibility of the administrative workers and the specific executives. The boundaries of control over the fulfillment of decrees and decisions of the party and soviet organs, their orders and directives, have been widened. The control is carried out with the assistance of computers, and it becomes more detailed and unconditional. Systematic work on the fulfillment of the party and government statements, as well as other regulatory and normative documents; also, immediate reactions of the leadership of the ministry to the violations of executive discipline are insured which is, again, directed toward raising responsibility. The center of gravity of the organizational activities has been mostly delegated to the localities and the city regional bodies. The leaders of the ministries and their services can now be most often seen in the city and regional departments of internal affairs, where they assist in the solution of the problems of practical activities. The agenda of a working day of the ministry and other leaders of the ministry has been better defined; including the day and time schedule of their reception of citizens and their visits to the labor collectives. From the beginning of the year, additional steps have been taken towards a more orderly regime of work within the organs of internal affairs which serve the population, primarily those of the passport service, GAI [State Auto Inspection], etc.

One of the main goals of the reorganization that is under way is the enforcement of the organizational functions of the branch and subordinate divisions of the ministry and that of the leadership of city regional bodies. In the MVD system, a special inspection apparatus has been created which strengthens control over the activities of the services, city regional bodies and subdivisions, increases the degree of administrative influence on behalf of the ministry, and improves the work regarding the generalization of experience in administrative work. The structure of the criminal investigation services is being perfected. The organizational measures provide for better flexibility of this system, and for the possibility to concentrate the main efforts on the solution of the major problems of the struggle against crime and the prevention of violations, to fully and more effectively utilize the entire arsenal of forces and means that the bodies of internal affairs have in order to insure the constitutional principle of the inevitable punishment for a committed crime. The subdivisions for criminal investigation and the protection of citizens' property have been strengthened. The task has been posited: the preventive work and the prevention of crime should occupy all the subdivisions and branches of the bodies of internal affairs without exception.

The positive solutions for many law enforcement problems, to a large extent, depends on the fact that the contribution in this matter will be rendered by the district militia inspectors, who are constantly called on to work in the midst of the population and to provide social order in the areas that they service. This link has been substantially strengthened. Measures are being taken toward restructuring work of this category of militia workers, and towards improvement of their leadership directly in city regional bodies. The responsibility for the organization of work of district offices and for their immediate control will be personally insured by the chiefs of the city and regional sections of internal affairs, and in some individual cases, by their first deputies. Unfortunately, this requirement has not been sufficiently understood by some individual leaders of the city regional bodies; in some places, the district officers find themselves with no supervision at times, the demands on them have decreased and the results of their activity have worsened. At the meeting of the collegium of the ministry held recently the chiefs of Gori, Tsagerskiy, Kaspiskiy, Abashskiy, Kvarel'skiy, Mayakovskiy, Lagodekhskiy, Tetriskaroyskiy and some other ROVD (Rayon Bodies of Internal Affairs) have been subjected to criticism and reprimanded for this.

The USSR MVD is especially attentive to the question of strengthening and widening the connections between the bodies of the internal affairs and the population, the community and the labor collectives, for the purpose of increasing the effectiveness of the work concerning strengthening law and order and enforcing the fight against crime and the timely prevention of the acts of hooliganism, parasitism, embezzlement, the crimes of adolescents, and other violations of law. We oblige the leading personnel of MVD, UVD (Administration of Internal Affairs) and the city regional bodies to constantly visit the labor collectives, to explain and to cooperatively solve the problems of strengthening law and order as it applies to the specifics of each facility and to systematically inform the collectives about the work carried out by the bodies of internal affairs. Also, this task is primarily posited by us for the district inspectors.

Of course, the solution to this problem can be achieved only on the condition that the party and soviet bodies in the localities, as well as the administration, party, trade union and Komsomol organizations of enterprises and institutions will, in their turn, provide for the participation of community activists in the work regarding the elimination of the reasons for crime, prevention of the violations of law and order in the activity of communal posts of law enforcement, the volunteer people's brigades, the councils for preventive work, the Komsomol operative detachments and other communal organizations. The everyday practical struggle for an exemplary social order shows how necessary the further improvement of interaction between the bodies of the internal affairs and the voluntary people's brigades is. The effective activity of the latter in the majority of cities and villages in the republic continues to remain very low, primarily when it concerns their utilization at the protection of the social order.

The service of BKhSS [Struggle Against Embezzlement of Socialist Property] has been subjected to considerable structural and organizational rebuilding so as to more directly solve the problem of the embezzlement of socialist property,

bribery and profiteering. The administration personnel has been somewhat reduced; together with this, the corresponding links in the city regional bodies have been strengthened. Today more attention is devoted to the maintenance of closer business contact with the administration of the production enterprises and institutions, taking more active steps to uncover and eliminate the reasons and conditions conducive to crime, and properly ordering accounts for the storage and expenditure of the financial means and materials values, which is achieved by way of the bodies of the state and departmental control. However, we have not yet received the required response and effectiveness from the work of a number of divisions of BKhSS. In many branches of the national economy: the local, meat-dairy, food and light industry, agriculture, procurement organizations, retail trade, domestic services and others, many crimes, primarily embezzlements of socialist property, are committed. Illegal additions, exaggerations of performed construction volumes, theft of the construction materials, illegal additions during freight transportation by motor vehicle transport enterprises, thefts of fuels and oil materials, etc. take place. The activities undertaken by the administration of BKhSS and by its subordinate divisions, however, often do not have the preventive character, which is why the criminals manage to act unpunished and cause a large material damage to the state. This is well seen from the example of the criminal groups which operated at the Anag wine factory in Signakhskiy Rayon, and at the Bolnis and Kasp canning plants, where these groups have committed embezzlement of the state property in especially large amounts.

The fight against sizable disguised embezzlements is conducted weakly by the Poti GOVD (City Bodies of Internal Affairs), and the Marneul'skiy, Gurdzhanskiy, Akhmet'skiy, Tskhayev'skiy, Sachkher'skiy, Tsulukidzev'skiy, Zestafon'skiy, Chokhataurskiy and a number of other ROVD. The workers of BKhSS do not always succeed in the timely uncovering of facts concerning the so-called contacts of the workers of the trade bases with profiteers, the illegal dealers with the workers of retail trade for the purpose of realization unaccounted for merchandise. Recently, at the ministry collegium, concrete organizational steps for the improvement and activization of the work at a given district have been determined on the basis of a detailed examination of the problem of shortcomings in the organization of BKhSS MVD services of the republic, regarding the fight against embezzlement, bribery and profiteering. In particular, it was determined in agreement and with the participation of party organs that before the end of the current year, it is necessary for the workers of the BKhSS service and the administrators of the bodies of internal affairs to visit the production enterprises, where a complex situation exists regarding the safety of socialist property, and to organize meetings with the labor collectives.

The militia workers are allowed many rights. At the present time, extensive work is carried out to further increase the responsibility of those who are given those rights. A struggle is carried out against impersonal attitudes, for the concretization of responsibilities and for taking more principled and strict measures against those who are to blame for shortcomings and breaking the law, who, due to neglect or other reasons, did not prevent a crime and did not provide for the protection of the citizen's rights.

Responsibility is primarily a personal quality; criticism should be concrete; this is what we are all called on for by our party. Directed by this, we have brought to life a complex of measures, oriented towards the increase of responsibility of personnel, primarily the administrative personnel, right up to dismissing them from the bodies of internal affairs and initiating criminal proceedings. In the current year alone, due to the neglect of the necessary administration of the districts entrusted with work, a number of chiefs of the bodies and subdivisions of internal affairs were dismissed from their positions: L. Kavtaradze, chief of the Sachkheriskiy ROVD; Sh. Guliashvili, chief of the Kaspskiy ROVD, V. Razhamashvili, chief of the Gori ROVD, and others. The fight against the violations of socialist law and discipline and for the removal of persons who compromise the bodies of internal affairs by their behavior is being carried out more actively and principledly.

The struggle with infringements in the accounting-registering work and the concealment of crimes from state control has been activated; this struggle has been significantly assisted by the publication of new normative acts of MVD USSR, and by the introduction of tickets-notifications that are handed out by militia workers to the citizens who reported a committed crime, among other measures.

In the matter of ensuring the completeness in the accounts and registrations of crime, a considerable role is played by an increase in the quality of inspection of the bodies of internal affairs and the activity of the apparatus for control over the given work sector in the local bodies of internal affairs, created at the MVD of the Georgian SSR. Internal investigations are carried out regarding every uncovered fact of the violation of the established order in accounting for crimes, as well as a biased presentation of data in the reports regarding the results of work; the measures are taken towards eliminating the reasons for such violations, and in regards to the persons guilty of crime concealment, forgery and other misuses within the service, very strict measures are being taken, including dismissals from the bodies of the militia and initiation of criminal charges.

Recently, the bodies of internal affairs of the republic have carried out definite work regarding the perfecting of the organization and the practical work with letters and the reception of citizens. However, it is not everywhere that a strict observance of the party demand concerning the attentive consideration and objective solution of the problems contained in the letters is insured. A large part of the complaints and applications is caused by the presence of serious shortcomings in the work of the militia and correctional-labor institutions. The problems of protection of law and order and the struggle against crime are being especially sharply raised by the workers in their letters. The administration of the ministry is taking steps toward the improvement in the analysis of the character of incoming letters and of the claims made by the workers, their justification and, together with this, towards the elimination of the shortcomings in their work that cause the justified complaints. The data reported in the citizens' letters is taken into consideration when the activities for the safe-guarding of the social order, fight against crime, and other directions of activity are worked out. Much is done so as not to allow the official-bureaucratic attitude of workers of

the bodies of the internal affairs to affect the examination of the complaints and applications of the workers. The directors of MVD in the autonomous republics, UVD (Administration of Internal Affairs), GO-ROVD (City Bodies of ROVD) were given a directive to personally examine the applications, letters and complaints of citizens about the unlawful actions by their subordinates, not to leave without a sharp reaction any one of such facts.

For the successful fulfillment of duty, the workers of the bodies of internal affairs are required to have a high political maturity and ideological convictions, courage, fearlessness, self-denial, deep professional knowledge, a creative approach to work, fast thinking, and a mastery of the exact methods of work. In their ideological convictions and morality-will qualities, a worker of the internal affairs bodies must be capable of firmly standing up against the influence of the antisocial surroundings and to affect it by educational-preventive work. At the same time, he must be ready at any moment to enter the struggle with a dangerous, cunning, crafty criminal, who is often armed. We consider one of our main tasks is the provision for such upbringing of our workers. Here the topic is the ideological provision for the achievement of the best final work results. The task was posited and is already being fulfilled to thoroughly investigate every case of a worker's violation of the socialist law and the work discipline, drunkenness, and other immoral acts and on a principled basis, to resolve the question of further tenure for such a worker.

The tasks of strengthening bodies of internal affairs with cadres is very important; in its solution we expect a great deal of help from the party and soviet bodies in the localities, the administration of enterprises, institutions, trade union, and Komsomol organizations; more active work and initiative from the selection commissions created at the city and regional party committees. It is necessary to achieve the selection of the guards of law and order from the best of the best such as, for example, the brothers Abesalom and Teymuraz Michineyshvili, the kolkhoz workers in the kolkhoz imeni Stalin of Abashskiy Rayon; both have been awarded the order of Labor Red Banner, and who today, with dignity, carry out their honorable service in the patrol-post subdivisions of UVD Tbilgorispolkom, and others.

The practical realization of the abovementioned complex of measures in the current year has already led to definite positive results, the most important of which are the activization and increase in effectiveness in the fight against crime, and a further strengthening of the social order in the republic. A considerable number of criminals have been uncovered and punished, among others, the bandit groups headed by Baliashvili in Gori, Bregadze in Tbilisi, Gavasheli in Zestafonskiy Rayon, and others; the participants of such groups earlier uncovered Zumbadze and others in Kakheti, Karchilava and others from Abashskiy Rayon, etc. have been subjected to the deserved punishment and isolated from society. The sharper reaction to the facts of hooliganist behavior have been provided; the struggle with drug addicts, burglars, pickpockets, and underage criminals, and other types of law violators has become more intensive but, most importantly, it has produced better results. In this way, the prerequisites for the further stabilization of the atmosphere in the republic is being created.

In the realization of all those tasks that were put forth for the bodies of internal affairs, an invaluable role is played by the political bodies, created in the system of MVD USSR, in accordance with the recent decisions of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee. This is another striking testimony of the constant care of our party for the bodies of internal affairs of the country, their increased role and responsibility in the maintenance of exemplary social order in the cities and population centers, and in their struggle with crime. The tasks faced by the MVD of the republic are clear to all of its workers, and they are all ready to respond with concrete action to the demonstrated care for them.

12404

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REGIONAL

UKRAINE SOCIOLOGISTS RECEIVE NEW TRAINING CENTER

Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 10 Sep 83 p 3

[Text] Kiev, 9 September. (RATAU). The students of the Institute for Improving the Qualifications for Teachers of Social Sciences (at Kiev Order of Lenin State University imeni T. G. Shevchenko) have received a new student instruction complex. In the current school year its lecture halls will serve more than 500 students from VUZes of all the union republics and a number of fraternal socialist countries.

The entrance of the new complex into the system opens broad possibilities for improving the educational process. In the seminar and lecture halls, equipped with modern teaching equipment, laboratories, scientific-methodology study rooms, all the conditions have been created for conducting a full range of scientific research, studying advanced experience, and improving lecturing skill. All this serves the main purpose to which all activity of the institute collective is subordinated,--raising the educational, research and socio-political work to the level of those great and complex problems which the party now is solving, resulting from the decisions of the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, from the propositions and conclusions formulated in the speech at the Plenum by Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, the CPSU Central Committee Decree "On Further Improvement in the System of Improving the Qualifications for Teachers of the Social Sciences in Institutions of Higher Learning."

On the occasion of this event a ceremonial gathering was held here today, opened by Professor A. T. Nelep, director of the institute and doctor of philosophical sciences. The following people addressed the meeting: F. M. Rudich, head of the Department of Science and Educational Institutions of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party; N. I. Mokhov, deputy USSR minister for Higher and Secondary Special Education; L. A. Kanishchenko, deputy UkSSR minister for Higher and Secondary Special Education; M. U. Belyy, rector of Kiev State University and corresponding member of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences; and V. P. Ustinenko, a student at the Institute for Improving Qualifications and candidate of philosophical sciences.

Also participating in the meeting were D. V. Kuznetsov, sector head of the Department of Science and Educational Institutions of the CPSU Central Committee, and Yu. I. Butenko, first deputy UkSSR minister for Higher and Secondary Special Education.

12318

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REGIONAL

USSR MINISTER SHKABARDNYA VISITS AZERBAIJAN

[Editorial Report] Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 6 October 1983 carries on page 1 a 500-word article on the visit of USSR Minister of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems M.S. Azerbaijan. Shkabardnya visited several enterprises and met with specialists, managers and workers in the industry. Among the topics discussed were the industry's tasks and the "necessity of improving the quality of production, raising labor productivity, and increasing the output of consumer goods." The minister gave advice and recommendations as to how to do this. A meeting of the leaders of the AeSSR Ministries of Industrial Construction and Installation and Special Construction Work was held at the Azerbaijan Council of Ministers at which questions of accelerating the tempo of construction and timely putting into operation of planned capacities were discussed. Similar questions, including the prospects for development for the industry's enterprises, were discussed at a meeting with Azerbaijan CP Central Committee Chairman, K.M. Bagirov in the Central Committee. The chairman and first deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers joined Shkabardnya on his enterprise visits.

KHABAROVSK KRAYKOM CHIEF ON IDEOLOGICAL INSTRUCTION

[Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 3 October 1983 publishes on page 2 a 1,300-word article entitled "In the Thick of Cares" by A. Chernyy, first secretary of Khabarovsk Kraykom. Chernyy writes about the importance of continuously perfecting ideological and political work among the masses in order to accomplish the tasks outlined by the 26th CPSU Congress. He says that great attention is being devoted to studying public opinion and that the Kraykom propaganda department jointly with the Khabarovsk Higher Party School are systematically conducting sociological research among the population and in collectives. They try, Chernyy says, to learn about the effectiveness of political education and radio and television broadcasts directly from workers themselves. The study of public opinion compelled them to devote more attention to propaganda in the form of lectures, where, he says, formal attitudes in some places resulted in a "certain devaluation" in that form of propaganda. Sometimes listeners at these lectures, when asked, were hard pressed to relate what exactly the speaker was talking about, Chernyy notes. To remedy this situation Chernyy urges that institutions of higher learning devote more attention to the teaching of oratorical and instructional skills to future leaders and ideological specialists.

CHELYABINSK OBKOM CHIEF ON PARTY LEADERSHIP

[Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 30 September 1983 publishes on page 2 a 1,300-word article entitled "Learning Business-like Performance" by M. Voropayev, first secretary of Chelyabinsk Obkom. Voropayev writes about styles and methods of party leadership in economic organs and enterprises. He notes that the force of inertia is tenacious and that progress in doing away with paper generation and needless meetings has been slow. The remedy, however, does not lie in party interference in the management functions of economic organs. The wisdom of party leadership, says Voropayev, consists not in issuing detailed commands but in the effective selection and assignment of suitable and capable cadres.

NOVEL ON M.V. FRUNZE'S DIPLOMATIC POST IN TURKEY REVIEWED

[Editorial Report] Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 28 Sep 83 p 3 carries a 900-word book review of Mr Extraordinary Ambassador [Gospodin chrezvychaynyy posol] by G. Petrukhin (Krygyzstan, 1983) which describes M.V. Frunze's diplomatic assignment to Turkey in 1921. Also described are Mustafa Kemal, remnants of white guard forces which fled to Turkey in those years, and Leninist policies toward Turkey.

KIRGHIZ SUPREME SOVIET MEETS

[Editorial Report] Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 28 Sep 83 p 1 carries a 200-word report on a regular meeting of the Supreme Soviet presided over by Chairman of the Presidium T. Kh. Koshoyev. The soviet discussed the work of the Suzakskiy Rayon's Council of People's Deputies' attempts to mobilize economic and social improvements during 1983. Many deficiencies were uncovered. Other matters were also discussed.

APPLYING SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH--Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 October 1983 First Edition carries on pages 1 and 2 a 1,800-word talk entitled "Listening to People" between I.A. Bondarenko, first secretary of Rostov CPSU Obkom, and own correspondent V. Ogurtsov. Bondarenko outlines work done in Rostov Oblast to apply the findings of sociological research in practice. He praises the work of the Salsk party gorkom for the "directness" of its approach to people's problems and the practice in Azovskiy rayon of holding meetings between obkom leaders and working people. Bondarenko stresses the need to provide all "social groups" with "political information" and to "shape" public opinion as well as to study it "attentively." Bondarenko concludes that "well organized" sociological analysis "raises the standard of the party committee's work" with people. [Editorial Report] [PM070903]

LEADING KAZAKH NOVELIST DIES

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 October 1983 page 3 carries a 300-word obituary for 69-year-old Il'yas Yesenberlin, author of such works as "Skirmish" [Skhvatka], "Protect Yourself With Your Shield" [Prikroy svoim shchitom], "The Lovers" [Vlyublennye]. Yesenberlin was working on "The Golden Horde" [Zolotaya orda] at the time of his death. The obituary was signed by D.A. Kunayev as well as other political figures and leading Kazakh authors.

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